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The Lives and Plans of Polish Migrant Families in Edinburgh

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PhD in Social Policy

University of Edinburgh

2013

I declare that this thesis is my own work, that wherever I am aware that another person's ideas are presented this has been acknowledged and that none of the content has previously been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Lucy Ramasawmy
July 2013

Abstract

This thesis takes as its subject Polish families who migrated to Edinburgh after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. It analyses the families' post-migration trajectories and experiences, and investigates how these are influenced by factors relating to Polish history and culture, by features particular to the post-accession migration wave and by families' individual characteristics. Theoretical approaches are drawn from a range of academic disciplines including, reference group theory, literature relating to gender-division of paid work and child-care, and 'mobilities' theory, and these approaches are all employed in exploring the factors that influence family members' integration, employment and lifestyles and their plans for the future.

This qualitative study focuses on the experiences of thirty families living in and around Edinburgh in the two years from 2009 to 2011, and combines a variety of methods in data-collection and in analysis. Families were interviewed twice with a year lapse between interviews, couples were interviewed jointly and conversational interviews were supplemented with questionnaires. These design features enable analysis of change over time, provide insight into family-dynamics and generate a range of forms of data. In analysis the combination of thematic coding of interview transcripts with Qualitative Comparative Analysis, allows in-depth exploration of experiences at the individual and family level to be positioned within the context of trends and patterns observed across the whole group.

The study finds that the families fall into distinct types according to particular key characteristics and migration strategies, and that the different family types are linked to different experiences of life in Scotland and plans for the future. Younger migrants who arrived independently, decided to stay and later started families are found to be embarking on new careers and making use of the greater flexibility of the employment market in the UK to enact their preferred division of work and child-care. In line with previous research findings, for families whose oldest child is pre-school age, school start date in Poland is identified as critical in limiting the period in

which parents feel the decision about whether to return can be made. Parents who migrated with school-age children because of financial hardship in Poland are highlighted in this study as a previously under-researched post-accession migrant group; among these families most parents within the study group are found to have been considering permanent settlement at the time of migration and to be maintaining this intention; their decision to stay is particularly influenced by concerns about the difficulties that they anticipate their children would encounter in re-entering the school system in Poland and about their own reduced ability to re-enter the labour market there after deskilling in employment in the UK. Parents who migrated to take up professional work in the UK are identified as possessing the highest levels of 'motility', that is, capacity to make use of mobility generally; among the study group these parents are found to have the most varied options and future plans and to be those who indicate the greatest likelihood of leaving the UK in the short term.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Neil Fraser and Ross Bond for their invaluable support as well as for their feedback and critical engagement throughout the design, fieldwork and writing-up stages of the thesis. Thanks also to those who advised me in the design and analysis stages: Laura Jeffrey and Lynn Jamieson for their feedback on my research proposal and Paul Norris for introducing me to Qualitative Comparative Analysis.

I would also like to thank those who shared their expertise about Polish migration during the early stages of the project including Father Andrzej Jabłoński, Fatim Lakha, Alexandra Pawlik and Sylwia Spooner, and those who introduced me to families: Alex Black, Elke Heins, Julie Hooper, Allan Hosey, Eliza Kowelska De Souza, Judith Mavor, Krystyna Motylińska, Elżbieta O'Neill, Martin Pullinger and Katarzyna Raszewska. My thanks also to Vivien Smith at the Centre for Research on Families and Relationships for her kind assistance with interview accommodation.

I am indebted to my interpreters, Ania Byerly and Alexander Niedziolko, for their assistance at interviews, to Alexander Klukowski for transcription and translation, and to all three for their help with understanding the subtleties of the Polish language.

I am also grateful to the ESRC and the University of Edinburgh for funding the project and providing me with training and support.

Finally I would like to express my gratitude to all members of the thirty families - parents and children - who participated in the study, for so generously giving up their free time, welcoming me into their homes and sharing their experiences and thoughts with me.

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Chapter 1: Researching Polish families in Edinburgh

After Poland joined the EU in 2004, the scale of migration from Poland to the UK, with arrivals exceeding 625,000 in five years, took policy makers and the public by surprise. By 2012, UK census results and estimates indicated Poles as constituting over 1% of British residents, with a similar proportion estimated for Scotland, and as represented in rural and urban areas across the UK. In the years since 2004 some of these migrants have started families and further whole families from Poland have also migrated to the UK. The project presented in this thesis looks at the experiences and plans of these families, taking as its focus thirty families resident in Edinburgh, Scotland. It explores their social and working lives, in particular focusing on how being a family is important to the way this group of migrants experience life in Scotland and assess the success of their migration project.

The study is qualitative, but makes use of a combination of methods within the qualitative paradigm, both in relation to data collection and to analysis, aiming with this approach to combine a coherent analysis of the whole group with in-depth exploration of the diversity of families' personal experiences and attitudes. In the course of the project it became clear that the characteristics of the families and their rationales for migration provided a key context for understanding the diversity of experience described; parents with fluent English and those in professional employment had very different stories to tell from those who had arrived with only basic English language, and those who had migrated as single migrants and started families later differed from those who migrated as whole families. To explore these differences in analysis, three family groups or types are distinguished and these are explored both separately and in conjunction with each other.

Migration studies tend to focus on a particular type of migrant moving between two particular countries or areas at a particular time, and this study is no exception, focusing on Polish families in which parents migrated to Edinburgh after Poland

joined the EU in 2004. The intention in adopting a particular migrant group is to identify a phenomenon of particular interest or relevance to understanding migration patterns more generally, and in the context of Social Policy, one that is influential or important to the policy context of the affected countries. In this first chapter I look at what makes Polish family migration interesting and its relationship with other migrations in other places and at other times. I start by looking at how this migration wave relates to historical migration from Poland and to the UK. I then go on to examine in more detail the characteristics of Polish post-accession migration as presented by previous researchers. As well as providing an introduction to the key features of this migration wave, presenting its characteristics in the context of recent migration theory more widely leads me to a discussion of the most appropriate theoretical framework for its analysis. Recent researchers of Polish migration have prioritised a 'transnational' conceptualisation, but drawing on discussion of the distinctive features of Polish migrant families, I explain why I rejected this as the prime analytical framework in this study. I next look at the UK and Poland in turn, highlighting societal factors relevant to Polish family post-accession migration. In relation to Poland I look at customs and norms relating to family, and their historical development, while in relation to Scotland I consider the importance of its relationship with the UK as a whole and the distinctive features of Edinburgh as a city, from both migrant and research design perspectives. I conclude the chapter with an introduction to the structure of the thesis and the aims of each chapter.

Polish family migration in context

The most obvious reason for selecting Polish families as a focus for study is simply that their arrival has been a 'new' phenomenon in Edinburgh, Scotland and the UK, with Polish migrants and increasingly Polish families very quickly becoming a significant section of the population. Estimates indicate that by 2010 Polish-born residents in Scotland exceeded foreign-born residents from any other country - 53,000 out of 326,000 born overseas in total, constituting 16% (General Register Office for Scotland, 2011d). Settlement of Polish families impacts on several areas

relating to social policy: provision of public services, for example language support in schools, provision of housing and health services and interpreting needs for all public services; it also impacts on employment, on wages and labour demand and availability, and raises a number of issues requiring responses at different levels in relation to discrimination, racist crime and social cohesion. This thesis does not attempt to explore these issues in depth, but rather to provide the necessary basis of understanding of the experiences of Polish migrant families that potentially enables further exploration of specific issues relating to their immigration and settlement. A key question addressed is whether families will stay or return, and this is clearly relevant to future planning of all services affected by their presence.

While the wave of intra-EU Polish migration is substantial, it is important to note that emigration from Poland, and Polish immigration to the UK and Scotland, are not new phenomena. Two previous emigration waves from Poland are particularly noteworthy: first, in the decades prior to World War 1, as a result of harsh living conditions and poverty an estimated 3.6 million Poles migrated to the US. Second, on a considerably smaller scale, after World War II, in which the Polish government in exile had moved to London and substantial numbers of Polish troops had fought on the side of the Allies, the Polish Resettlement Act allowed 160,000 Poles to settle in the UK (Burrell, 2009 p3). The majority of these migrants stayed, forming communities and integrating, resulting in a Polish presence in many locations across the UK to the present day. Between 1945 and 1989 while Poland was under communist rule, travel outside of Poland was restricted and emigration uncommon, but towards the end of this period and to a greater extent after the end of communism, with the freedom to travel outside Polish borders regained, Polish people began to emigrate, many to the UK, even before 2004 (Garapich, 2008). Substantial numbers of Poles at this time also engaged in circular or temporary migration, with over 200,000 Poles recorded as seasonal migrants to Germany each year between 1999 and 2004 (Fihel *et al.*, 2006 p24, Table 3) and others, particularly women, engaging in circular migration to Italy for domestic or care work (Elrick and Brinkmeier, 2009). Emigration to other European countries as well as to the US rose

during and after the transition period too. However, it was when Poland joined the EU in 2004 that levels of emigration grew most dramatically.

On Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, the UK was one of only three EU countries that allowed citizens of the eight acceding countries (the 'A8') to migrate and work without restriction (along with Ireland and Sweden), while the other EU countries put temporary restrictions in place - to be lifted by 2011. This freedom, together with historical migration links to the UK and the perceived usefulness of English language (relative to other European languages), were the likely reasons for the scale of Polish migration to the UK. According to Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) data from 2004-2009, 66% of successful applicants from the A8 countries were Polish, while the next highest nationalities were Slovakians, and Lithuanians, constituting 10% and 9% respectively (UK Border Agency, 2009 p8). While the post-war Polish migrants had been political exiles, those arriving in the 1990s and 2000s were predominantly economic migrants. The unemployment level in Poland in 2004 was 19% (EUROSTAT, 2012b) and earning power was significantly lower than the UK: while the average annual salary in Poland in 2005 was 28,300 złotys - then equivalent to about £4,600 (G.U.S., 2012 p176) - median earnings for 2004-2005 in the UK were £22,900 (Office for National Statistics, 2005 p2). There were then obvious gains from migration both in terms of access to employment and in level of earnings, and spending power could be increased if earnings from the UK could be spent in Poland after return or sent as remittances to family there.

The Characteristics of post-2004 Polish migration

Polish migrants to the UK differed from previous emigrants from Poland in that they were younger - 72% were between 20 and 29, with a median age of 25, and a larger proportion were highly-educated, with graduates estimated as making up 24% of the total (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009 p34). Compared to earlier migration waves to the UK, women arrived independently in higher numbers, with women constituting 44% of applicants to the WRS between 2004 and 2009 (UK Border Agency, 2009 p10). Another aspect that was new in relation to UK immigration history was the

wide spread of receiving locations across the UK (Pollard *et al.*, 2008; White, 2011a), contrasting with the previous norm of migrant reception largely by London and other large cities; this spread partly arose from the many seasonal agricultural workers arriving to work in rural areas. Scotland received EU accession migrants on a scale which over time approached its share of the population of the UK - the Scottish population forms about 9.4% of the total population of the UK (General Register Office for Scotland, 2011b; Office for National Statistics, 2011)) and the proportion of A8 migrants coming to Scotland increased from 7.7% of the total to the UK in 2005 to 9.4% in 2008 (UK Border Agency, 2009 p18, Table 9).

Concern about public service provision and about the employment and housing conditions of these migrants led to a number of studies being commissioned by regional councils (e.g. in Scotland: De Lima *et al.*, 2007; Fife Research Coordination Group, 2007; Scottish Government, 2006; Scottish Government, 2007a). These studies and academic research (e.g. Eade *et al.*, 2006; Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009; Iglicka, 2008; Pollard *et al.*, 2008; Spencer *et al.*, 2007) together showed migrants working mainly in unskilled employment, most intending only temporary settlement and many planning to save money for a particular purpose on return to Poland, typically housing or education.

Much of the academic research on these post-accession Polish migrants has focused on young, single graduates (for example Bielewska, 2011; Kennedy, 2009; Nowicka, 2012; Trevena, 2011). While estimates vary, a substantial proportion of Polish migrants are not graduates however; respondents to a survey by Iglicka in London included 55% graduates (Iglicka, 2008 p5), while Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, as described above, using the Polish labour force survey, estimated the proportion of graduates among emigrants to the UK between May 2004 and 2006 to be 24%. An exception to this trend in academic research is Anne White who has focused on working-class families migrating especially from small towns in Poland (White, 2011b). My study aims to represent all types of families who are settling in Edinburgh and so encompasses parents from a variety of educational backgrounds. Importantly it includes families who migrated to Edinburgh together in 2007 and

2008, a group who arrived after most previous academic studies of post-accession migration; parents in these families are found in my study to differ in characteristics from the single migrants who provided the focus of those studies.

A useful typology of post-accession Polish migrants developed by Eade *et al.* (2006) identifies four groups of migrants based on their migration strategies and plans, which they label 'storks', 'hamsters', 'searchers' and 'stayers' respectively. 'Storks' (who constitute 20% of their survey group) engage in 'circular' migration, migrating for short periods, working in temporary employment to save earnings and return home, repeating this migration perhaps several times. 'Hamsters' (16%) migrate for a longer period of six months or more, but view migration as a once-only trip, aimed at saving money to take back to Poland. 'Searchers', who constituted the largest group (42%) in their study group, demonstrate 'intentional unpredictability' (*ibid.* p11) about where they will live in the future, planning future migration according to circumstances and opportunities that arise. Finally 'stayers' or 'salmon', constituting 22% of the group, have been in the UK a longer period and have decided to settle for the long term, although members of this group may still consider returning in the distant future, perhaps after retirement. Since this typology was first suggested an additional strategy-type of 'nomads' has been proposed (Duvell and Garapich, 2011) to represent migrants for whom the UK is just one stage in a strategy of migration between several countries.

While this research gives us the situation shortly after 2004, to continue following the story of Polish post-accession migration we need to consider wider societal changes. From 2008 onwards an economic crisis hit Europe and the UK, with large state bail-outs for banks followed by substantial cuts in public spending and an associated rise in unemployment. Poland was unique among European countries in not being defined as in recession in this period (that is, growth figures not dipping below zero for two consecutive quarters). The UK media anticipated that most Polish migrants would return home as a result; for example a headline in the Telegraph in October 2008 read: 'Polish immigrants leaving Britain: What the Poles did for us' (De Quetteville, 2008). Many migrants were recorded as leaving; the Institute for

Public Policy Research (IPPR) reported that half of the million A8 workers whom they estimate to have migrated to the UK had left, and suggested that more were gradually leaving (Pollard *et al.*, 2008). Data they collected about returnees suggested that many had always intended to return. That return related also to the economic situation was evident from a survey of returnees in 2009 which found that losing employment in the UK was the most commonly cited reason for return (Iglicka, quoted in White, 2011b p201). While the scale of return was uncertain due to lack of available data, there was a clearly observable fall in the numbers of migrants arriving; Polish applications to the WRS fell from 35,800 in the first quarter of 2007 to 12,480 in the same quarter of 2009, after peaking in 2006 (UK Border Agency, 2009 p9). It seems likely from available data that many of the seasonal and temporary workers returned and that recession provided the impetus for this.

It is clear however that many Poles remained. Census figures for 2011 for England and Wales show 579,000 Polish-born residents (Office for National Statistics, 2012) and Poles might be expected to be resident in Scotland in similar proportion to arrivals: estimates in 2010 suggested that 53,000 of Scottish residents were Polish-born and that Polish-born residents of Scotland exceeded those from any other country (53,000 of 326,000 born overseas, constituting 16%) (General Register Office for Scotland, 2011c). There was also evidence of an increasing proportion of Polish families among the migrants, with rising numbers of Polish children recorded as born and attending school in Scotland (and UK-wide); in 2010, 4% of births in Scotland were to mothers born in A8 countries (General Register Office for Scotland, 2011a p18) and in September 2011, 7,054 pupils in Scottish schools stated their home language to be Polish (Scottish Government, 2012 Table 1.14). Further, WRS data indicate slight increases in numbers of workers arriving with dependants over the years after 2004 (UK Border Agency, 2009 p11, Table 5); these figures are likely to underestimate numbers of children arriving as they exclude those migrating with a parent who did not register for work on arrival. Iglicka (2011 p17) estimates that in 2009 there were between 113,784 and 127,966 Polish children living in the UK.

Qualitative studies of migrants' experiences show that while many migrants did return, this was not an obvious choice for all. The job situation in Poland was not perceived as obviously better than that in the UK (e.g. Schneider and Holman, 2011; White, 2011b) although the exchange rate and relative earnings shifted over time to make the UK less appealing relative to Poland. As White and Lopez Rodriguez describe, many of the migrants who came soon after 2004 were fathers whose wives and children remained in Poland (Lopez Rodriguez, 2010; White, 2009a). Most commonly coming from areas where there were continuing high levels of unemployment, families often decided that their best 'livelihood strategy' (White, 2009a) was for mothers and children to join the father in the UK.

From the Polish perspective, emigration has been identified as involving processes of networking between countries and the development of a 'culture of migration' in local populations, dating back through decades of migration preceding Polish EU accession (Elrick, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008). Within the few years of post-accession emigration to the UK, as locals migrate and return, permanently or on visits, their behaviours and experiences add to and alter existing norms and attitudes in relation to migration. Increased availability of information and the development of networks of personal contacts between locations in Poland and the UK enable subsequent migrants to relocate with greater confidence; with most having a contact in their destination location in the UK, their migration is no longer, as it had been for many single migrants immediately after Polish accession, 'w ciemno' ('into the dark').

'New' migration and the concept of transnationalism

Migration theorists describe recent migration as demonstrating new features which distinguish it from traditional migration to an extent sufficient to justify labelling it 'new migration' (Lutz and Koser, 1998) and intra-European East-West migration is cited an prime example of this (Favell, 2008b). Interrelated features that are highlighted as 'new' include: the large scale of migration between developed countries; new, quick and low-cost transport and communication links; circular,

temporary migration, and migration with less definite plans; women migrating independently, rather than as 'tied partners' following their husbands, and migrant behaviours after arrival which are more individualistic, with less dependence on and development of co-ethnic communities (Markova and Black, 2007).

Closely linked to several of these features of 'new migration', are those behaviours encompassed by the relatively new analytic concept of 'transnationalism' (Faist, 2000; Glick Schiller, 1997; Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1995; Kivisto, 2001; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). This concept is employed to describe various different kinds of 'new' connections across and between countries in the modern world which are argued to arise particularly from changes in transport and communication. 'Transnational' links are identified at macro, meso and micro levels. At the macro and meso level, they include trade interactions and migration networks or a 'migration industry' between two countries or localities; at the micro level, they identify frequent physical movement and communication by individuals and families between countries. 'New' transnational practices at the micro level include increased transience in migration, circular or pendular migration and migration on a trial basis without definite future plans, frequent visits and communication with home, and the continuation of relationships and family care responsibilities across countries. 'Transnationalism' is also extended to encompass cultural practices and identities which combine elements from more than one national culture. Perhaps unsurprisingly, applied across such a wide range of levels - to countries, communities and individuals - and utilised in describing behaviour, identity and culture, transnationalism has been accused of being conceived in a vague and ill-defined manner (Cassarino, 2004; Castles and Miller, 2003; Kivisto, 2001; Vertovec, 1999).

Many of the behaviours highlighted by the concept of transnationalism have been evident in the wave of Polish migration to the UK. Key features identified in intra-EU migration are, its relative transience, evident particularly in circular or seasonal migration, greater uncertainty among migrants about future plans, and frequent visits and communication with contacts at home. These features are presented as resulting

from the development of new communication technologies and faster and cheaper transport (Favell, 2008b), and the greater proximity of sending and destination countries. In research on post-accession Polish migration to the UK, transnationalism has become a dominant analytical approach (see for example Garapich, 2011; Heath *et al.*, 2011; Ignatowicz, 2011; Ryan, 2010). Garapich (2011) suggests that adopting a transnational approach to analysing this wave of migration, has enabled theorists to move on from the question of 'whether Poles are here to stay or not'. He argues that 'this is a positive sign of the move away from the methodological nationalism, which dominates many theoretical agendas of migration research' (Garapich, 2011 p9).

I here present some elements of Polish post-accession migration in order to explain why I decided not to prioritise a transnational analytic approach in this project. First, if the concept is to perform an analytical function, the behaviours it describes should be 'new' in some respect, so that traditional conceptualisations are either unable or inferior in their ability to encompass it. I argue, however, that the majority of the behaviours that it describes that are relevant to my respondents, are not new. Second I argue that attributes which form a central definition of transnational behaviours are not clearly evident among Polish post-accession migrants: links formed between countries are long-standing, continuing beyond one generation, and they are substantial enough in the lives of individuals or communities to constitute qualitatively different behaviours from those described by traditional migration terminology. Castles and Miller argue that:

> The key defining feature is that transnational activities are a central part of a person's life. Where this can be shown empirically to apply to a group of migrants, one can appropriately speak of a transnational community (Castles and Miller, 2003 p33)

Finally, in order to conclude that a transnational approach is the most appropriate for analysis of Polish migration to the UK, it needs to be seen to be useful and applicable to the whole group of migrants, not only to a subgroup and I find this not to be the case.

Having rejected transnationalism as an overall conceptual framework for analysis however, I argue that as a concept it need not be perceived as incompatible with traditional nationally-bounded approaches, but can usefully be used in conjunction with them.

How 'new' are transnational behaviours?

The need for the use of the concept at the micro level has been challenged by other researchers on the grounds that the phenomena it is used to describe are not genuinely 'new'. Kivisto (2001) argues that many of the behaviours it identifies as 'new', such as remittance-sending and other forms of mutual support across countries, circular and seasonal migration and return migration can be seen in 19th and 20th century migration. In relation to Polish emigration, it is clear that migration networks and remittance-sending were common between the US and Poland prior to 1914 (Davies, 2001; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1996, orig. 1918-1920). Davies comments that there was 'a constant flow of information and opinions between the two terminals of migratory movement' (Davies, 2001 p224). From British immigration history, a particular example of migration which highlights elements associated with 'transnational community' is provided by migration of Pakistanis to the UK in the 1960s. Anwar (1979) describes cultural practices enacted between the two countries within extended family and common-ancestral groups after migration. These kinds of practices have continued into the next generation, with migrants' children, for example, returning to Pakistan to seek marriage partners. 'Transnational' practices among Pakistanis can be argued to have been both substantial to their daily lives and lasting beyond the first generation.

In relation to ethnic community involvement within Britain or between the UK and Poland, post-accession Polish migrants however fail to match this previous level of 'transnational' interaction. Adopting more individualistic behaviours and attitudes (Bielewska, 2011; Eade *et al.*, 2006), these migrants engage to a lesser extent with Polish communities either in the UK or Poland than did the post-war migrants. Indeed, lack of community seems to be an aspect that *is* 'new' about recent migration to the UK from Eastern Europe, as noted by several researchers (Bielewska, 2011;

Markova and Black, 2007; Ryan *et al.*, 2008a; White, 2011c). This is evidenced by both the lack of interaction between 'old' (post-war) and new (post 2004) Polish migrants, and also by a lack of 'ethnic community' and of mutual trust among the post-accession arrivals, with the exception of that between family members and close friends (Garapich, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2008a). Relationships among Polish migrants are summarised by White:

> 'The Polish diaspora - to use another contested term - is characterised by class boundaries, divisions between different migrant cohorts, and simple lack of contact between small kin and friendship clusters' (White, 2011c p5)

While substantial transnational community interaction is not evident, we could instead focus on the individual level and consider whether, as is key to 'transnational' behaviours, contact between Poland and the UK forms a substantial part of migrants' lives. Polish migrants however frequently describe their involvement with Poland as limited to phone calls, annual visits and links only to one or two members of family. For example, respondents in Ignatowicz's study comment:

> 'I don't think I would fly home so often if not for my mum'

> 'If my family lived here with me, I would probably visit Poland once a year or not all'
> (Ignatowicz, 2011 p38)

While continuing care-responsibilities between family members are sometimes evident (Ryan *et al.*, 2009b), these again tend to involve one or two family members in Poland, usually migrants' own parents or children. Although great stresses and demands on migrants' lives (impacting particularly on women) may result when close relatives in Poland are in need of support and care (as described by some respondents in my study), these particular relationships will not constitute lasting connections spanning more than one generation, although they may potentially lead to temporary or permanent return - as the return of one mother among my

respondents demonstrates (see Chapter 8). Polish women are not often, however, engaging in a culture of long-standing chains of care (Raghuram, 2004) between Poland and the UK, as has occurred more commonly, for example, in the context of Polish women's circular migration to Italy.

A further way that Polish migration is suggested to be 'new' is in relation to the uncertainty about future plans with which migrants arrive, adopting a 'wait and see' approach, attributed to the ease of return. But that this attitude is not 'new' is evident from Gmelch's (1980) summary of migration rationales:

> Most migrants [simply] do not have definite plans [..] They go on a trial basis, letting their decision of whether or not to return and when to return be guided by the opportunities they find in the new society. (Gmelch, 1980 p138)

Gmelch goes on to discuss how migration on a trial basis leads to maintained links with home and the developing 'myth of return'; these behaviours too are evident among Polish post-accession migrants (see for example White, 2011b).

Prioritising the first arrivals - young, single and highly-educated

Duvell and Garapich find that, 'With respect to Poles in the UK, various studies suggest that the vast majority pursue transnational practices' (Duvell and Garapich, 2011 p11). I argue, however, that many of these practices become substantially less relevant over time, and are phenomena primarily relevant to the earliest short-term migrants and young highly-educated migrants who provide the focus of much academic research on post-accession migration.

Taking one example, cheap, fast transport between Poland and the UK, and particularly 'no frills airlines' have been cited as key in enabling temporary and open-ended migration strategies. Ignatowicz argues that:

> 'Mobility is [..] not only about the actual physical movement but also about a feeling of being in a privileged position to go home at any time of migration process and most importantly, remain flexible and mobile.' (Ignatowicz, 2011 p43)

However, my respondent data demonstrates that for families with school-age children and those with low incomes and demanding and insecure jobs, this freedom and mobility are less accessible and relevant than they are for single and highly-skilled migrants. Families find the cost of return flights to Poland during school holidays for their whole family prohibitively expensive. Further, if they fly home, not having the use of a car restricts what they can do in Poland. As a result, families were switching to driving and taking the ferry to Poland, although the journey then takes a night and a day. Some families in my study described how, over time, trips to Poland began to be seen less as holidays and more as an obligation and several families were beginning to use their annual leave to go to Spain or other popular holiday destinations instead. Availability of fast easy transport thus seems over time to become increasingly less relevant in their contact with home.

A further phenomenon highlighted in the transnational literature and relevant to post-accession Polish migrants' lives is that of 'transnational social spaces', particularly those enabled through the internet and world wide web. However, while this phenomenon may be highly relevant to diaspora formation among dispersed forced emigrants or refugees (Bernal, 2006; Everett, 2009; Tynes, 2007), among post-accession Poles their use seems more muted, and among respondents in my study, similarly to fast transport, their relevance seemed to dwindle over time. Most respondents had made use of British-based Polish websites for accessing practical information soon after migration, participating in web forums or buying products from other Polish migrants through the web and some respondents finding Polish friends in Edinburgh soon after arrival through Polish forums; but such website use was predominantly instrumental to settlement and was not maintained. Some respondents mentioned using the social networking sites 'Gadu-Gadu' and 'Facebook' to communicate with friends from Poland, but several, seeing this as an obstacle to local engagement, had discontinued it and deleted their accounts; this was

sometimes presented as a proud achievement and a sign of integration and moving on.

Clearly relevant to post-accession migrants, and distinct from behaviours evident in previous migration waves, is increased ease of communication with friends and family in Poland. This is important in migrants' lives, generating new and superior ways of engaging in 'transnational' interaction through use of internet telephony (e.g. Skype) and cheap phone options. The effects of these changes in communication are unclear however - whether they make migrants more likely to return to Poland or whether the fact that relationships can be maintained so easily and cheaply using these new technologies makes staying more acceptable. Communication behaviours are then 'new' but their importance to future transnational contact remains unclear. Again, individual relationships that are supported by these communication technologies seem likely only to last one generation.

More generally, the reduction over time in the significance and volume of 'transnational' interactions in individuals' lives is part of a wider pattern of development which can be observed occurring in economic migration waves historically. Castles and Miller, in their book 'The Age of Migration', outline a typical pattern:

> 'Most economic migrations start with young, economically active people. They are often 'target-earners, who want to save enough in a higher-wage economy to improve conditions at home, by buying land, building a house, setting up a business or payment for education or dowries. After a period in the receiving country, some of these 'primary' migrants return home, but others prolong their stay, or return and then remigrate. As time goes on, many erstwhile temporary migrants send for spouses, or find partners in the new country. With the birth of children, settlement takes on a more permanent character'. (Castles and Miller, 2003 p33)

This 'typical' pattern, rather than contrasting with 'new' Polish post-accession migration, seems to describe it precisely. Changes in migrants' future plans that occur over time, and particularly when migrants start families, are critical to this pattern and also to my study, with its focus on family. That such changes are

occurring among Polish post-accession migrants is also noted by Bielewska (2011) and in Norway by Friberg (2012).

Ryan, similarly, analysing transnational relations described by Polish families in the UK, asks whether the 'transnational' family relations might be a temporary phenomenon:

> it is necessary to question the extent to which transnational families represent a completely new type of migratory experience that can be sustained over time. Is it perhaps more closely related to specific stages in the family life cycle (having young children or aged parents who need support)? Is it a phase in the migration trajectory associated with relatively new migrants who have not yet managed to establish local sources of support? (Ryan, 2010)

I argue that the apparent appropriateness of transnationalism to post-accession migration results largely from a focus on young migrants in the years immediately after 2004, and prioritises the behaviours of single migrants over those who have families in the UK, and thus risks distorting accounts of Polish migration.

Combining transnationalism with traditional concepts

Some theorists argue that it is not necessary to present transnationalism in opposition to the traditional concepts of integration (or assimilation[1]), settlement or return, as incompatible theoretical approaches, but that *how* an individual engages in transnational practices, and who engages and who does not, are matters for empirical measurement (Bommes, 2005; Kivisto, 2001). Migrants, and their behaviours, can then be distinguished as either transnational or relating to individual countries. This seems the most helpful approach to adopt in studying individual migrants in the context of the evolution of a migration wave over time: the earliest migrants in post-accession migration did seem to show a number of new and distinct behaviours; for

[1] The terms 'assimilation' and integration are sometimes used interchangeably. In US literature (e.g. Brubaker, 2001), 'assimilation' is commonly used while 'integration' is more usual in British literature.

them the possibilities offered by new communication and transport technologies seem to be qualitatively different from those in historic instances of migration. Nevertheless most behaviours relating to this migrant group, and the pattern of change for them over time, remain highly similar to those that can be adequately described within the traditional concepts of emigration, immigration and integration and settlement.

I adopt then a traditional approach to migration research, focusing on integration experiences and the decision to stay or return, rather than on transnational practices, and my justification for doing this is that transnational practices did not constitute a substantial part of the lives of respondent families. While the question of whether the Polish migrants would return home or not may have been linked by the media with the fear of a 'flood' of Eastern European migrants (Iglicka, quoted in Garapich, 2011), this does not render it intrinsically irrelevant or uninteresting. Polish migrants themselves wonder whether they will settle permanently or return one day, and predictions of how many Polish migrants will stay or leave, and the characteristics and needs of those who will stay in different regions assists service providers. The question of return is not necessarily xenophobic and has not lost its salience in these contexts.

The two countries

Important in migration are the national contexts provided by sending and receiving countries, as their history, culture and norms provide the background to migrants' attitudes and experiences. I next present an outline of societal factors identified as particularly relevant to the experiences of Polish migrant families, looking in turn at Poland and Scotland.

Poland: attitudes and norms

A consideration of the history and culture of Poland is useful to this study in assisting understanding of the societal norms and expectations of migrants. Political upheaval in the recent past in Poland is likely to have impacted on migrants' attitudes in many ways, some of which are particularly relevant to this study. When considering for example gender-division of work, family housing and child-care norms, the very rapid changes that have taken place in Poland throw up a number of conflicting norms and potential influences.

Poland was under Soviet communist control from the end of World War II until 1989, when the trade union movement Solidarity, supported by the majority of the Polish people, overthrew this regime and set up a government which introduced a market economy. While communism was less all-embracing in Poland than that in the Soviet Union, over forty years it greatly influenced many aspects of life for Poles (Davies, 2001). After 1989, the swift introduction of a market-economy resulted in steeply rising unemployment, an economic downturn and a reduction in the standard of living. After Poland joined the EU in 2004 economic revival began, and in 2008[2] attitude surveys indicated that a majority of Poles felt that the quality of life was improving (C.B.O.S., 2008). While the overall direction of change over the years since the end of communism was seen as positive however, it was accompanied by problematic shifts in work-patterns and it has been argued that these impacted disproportionately on women (Stenning and Hardy, 2005).

During the early part of the communist period subsidised child-care was widely available and women were expected to engage in full-time paid employment (Stenning and Hardy, 2005). Women were, and continue to be, better educated than men and were well represented in traditionally male-dominated employment areas such as finance and management. This perhaps provides a basis for the view among Poles that gender-equality had been achieved (Fodor, 2006). However, gender-

[2] I restrict data used in this analysis to that relating to the period up to 2008, after which my respondent group had migrated.

equality during this period was limited in several ways: first, it was restricted to the realm of employment, and, while gender-equality was achieved in numbers employed, employment was gender-segregated, with women working disproportionately in the service sector, particularly in teaching and nursing, for which the pay was poor. Men's average earnings were substantially higher than those of women (Pollert, 2003). Further, the communist work-regime relied, as much as that of the West in the 1950s and 60s, on the assumption that women were primarily responsible for informal domestic and care work at home. In the later years of communism, as economic crises led to an increased need for women to work full time, together with reductions in child-care provision, child-care was increasingly provided by grandparents.

Following the end of communism, the new government instigated a rapid transfer of publicly owned industry to private control, and the size of the public sector overall reduced dramatically. These changes resulted in high unemployment, and this impacted more heavily on women, both because they were more likely to be employed in sectors where closures were implemented, and also because women with family responsibilities were less able to adapt to the requirements of private sector employment. Leven (2008) argues that women's higher educational qualifications and relatively high representation in the service and financial sectors, areas that were in demand and in which incomes rose with the introduction of the new market economy, meant that they were well placed to engage in employment in these areas during and after the transition period. However, sex-discrimination in employment in the new private companies, together with dramatically reduced child-care provision over this period (Matysiak, 2009) disadvantaged women in finding and retaining work. Increased numbers of women retired early to look after grandchildren, and general reductions in levels of pay, particularly for work available to women, meant that it was necessary for women to work longer hours and for both partners in couples with children to engage in paid work to maintain a basic standard of living (Galbraith, 2008; Pollert, 2003).

Family values, associated with Catholicism, remained important to Polish people throughout the communist era and during transition (Galbraith, 2008) and resurfaced in political and media rhetoric in the post-communist transition period. Galbraith (*ibid.*) argues that the communist regime had provided work security and social support which enabled women to engage in full-time work while also maintaining their traditional role of providers of child-care, in accordance with Polish catholic-influenced family values. Under the communist regime, women had received maternity support, their posts in employment had been kept open for three years after the birth of a child, and they had received some financial support during this time, and child-care had been subsidised. During the transition period, reduction in these kinds of state support, increased insecurity in employment and lower wages, meant that it became more difficult for women to maintain their traditional role combining family responsibilities and paid employment (Galbraith, 2008; Matysiak, 2009).

Beyond communism and Catholism, more recent influence on Polish attitudes and lifestyles is provided by increased trade and communication with Europe and the US and by Poland's accession to the EU. These connections introduce a different kind of gender-equality. Distinct from the communist 'command-equality' which had required and ensured the participation of women in paid employment, this version of gender-equality introduced new elements of individual fulfilment, realisation of personal lifestyle preferences and a fair gender-division of child-care.

General trends in family lifestyle are similar in Poland to those across Europe, with age at marriage rising, and cohabitation, lone parent households and divorce all increasingly common. In Poland however, levels of marriage remained higher and levels of divorce and cohabitation lower than in the 'old' EU countries into the 2000s. Households are commonly occupied by more than one family unit, with grandparents often sharing a household with a child and their family. Although household size is decreasing, in 2002, 69% of all Polish households still consisted of more than one family unit (G.U.S., 2007 p36).

Work and lifestyle patterns in Poland differ from those in the UK. While a lower proportion of women are in paid employment in Poland than in the UK, with 52.4% of working-age women in employment in Poland in 2008, compared to 65.8% in the UK (EUROSTAT, 2012b), a much higher proportion of women in Poland are in full time work; in the UK in 2008, 41.8% of employed women were in part-time work, compared to only 11.7% in Poland (EUROSTAT, 2012a). EUROSTAT time-use data from 1999 to 2004 indicate differences too in gender-division of work in the home, with women in Poland spending on average half an hour longer each day than those in the UK on domestic work; this difference is mainly explained by the greater time Polish women spend on food preparation and washing up, and, to a lesser extent, on child-care (Aliaga, 2006).

Table 1.1 Attitudes to women and work in the UK and Poland, ESS 2004

%	'A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family'				'Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children'				'When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women'			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
UK	42	26	48	26	90	3	89	4	23	49	27	55
PL	60	17	55	23	86	5	94	2	43	31	37	44

"Yes" includes the answers "strongly agree" and "agree"; "no" the answers "disagree" and "strongly disagree" (Source, De Henau, 2007)

Data from the European Social Survey (ESS) of 2004, as shown in table 1.1, indicate that Polish attitudes are less egalitarian (or more traditional) than most European countries. De Henau (2007) uses responses to rank the 24 participating countries from the most egalitarian to the most traditional, placing the UK 13th, while Poland is 22nd, grouped with Southern European and other transitional countries. This difference might be attributed to the influence of Catholicism.

Polish history, as described above, provides a complex array of influences on attitudes and norms relevant to families: the communist regime emphasised the obligation of women to engage in paid employment but also in practice supported

women in maintaining their traditional roles as the main providers of child-care; Catholic values, which remained strong throughout the communist era and enjoyed a resurgence during the trasition period, supported traditional family lifestyles and mothers' responsibility for child-care; membership of the EU and increased interaction with Europe and the US introduceed individualism and a focus on gender-equality in partners' division of paid work and child-care. In Chapter 6 I explore how these influences may relate to the attitudes and preferences of my respondent parents.

Scotland as a destination

It is also important to consider what makes Scotland distinctive as a migration destination and context for settlement. The relationship and differences between Scotland, England and the UK are relevant both to migrants' perceptions of Scotland and also to immigration policy and attitudes to migration among the local population. Edinburgh as a location of research also deserves some consideration, and I consider the relevance to migrants and to this project of its particular characteristics.

While Scotland currently forms part of the UK, there is a continuing debate in relation to Scotland's future independence from the UK. Attitudes to and awareness of this issue are likely to influence research audience' perceptions of the status of Scotland as a research location, as well as respondents' perceptions of it as a receiving country. If the research audience spans readers from Scotland, England and Wales, and English-speaking countries beyond Britain, understandings and assumptions are likely to differ with their respective locale's interest in and awareness of the issues involved. Edinburgh may be seen simply as a city in the UK, with Scotland relatively unimportant to migration choices and settlement experiences (this is my own personal view, and was shared by some respondents in this study). Alternatively, foregrounding the migration destination as Scotland makes the inclusion of the particularities of the Scottish context in analysis critical to understanding migrants' choices and experiences.

The Scottish government's approach to immigration contrasts with that of the UK (Westminster) government. The main focus for the UK government and media is on limiting or reducing the scale of immigration, foregrounding concerns about Britain's increasing population, and associated housing shortages, increased competition for 'British jobs' and migrant demands on welfare benefits (Blinder, 2012; Cameron, 2011; Stevenson, 2012). Scotland in contrast, with its history as a country of emigration up until the 2000s, has viewed increasing its population as necessary for its future economic prosperity and has encouraged this. In 2007, for example, the Scottish government set a target of matching the population growth average for the EU-15 over the subsequent ten years (Scottish Government, 2007b). Thus, while the Scottish perspective on Polish family migration is likely to be positive, Westminster is more likely to present it as a threat. Immigration legislation is under the control of the Westminster government, so while the Scottish government can determine its own social policies relating to integration and settlement and advertise Scotland as a destination for immigration, immigration law is beyond its remit.

My respondents tended not to distinguish between Scotland and Britain in relation to attitudes referring to the British national media rather than Scottish, and in relation to policy, commenting primarily on welfare and employment legislation, issues retained as the responsibility of Westminster at devolution. No overt awareness of the Scottish government's more positive attitude towards immigrants was indicated, although respondents described their very positive reception by locals, often expressed in terms of the positive attitudes and behaviour of Scottish people.

A further factor that distinguishes Scotland from England is the independent Scottish education system and importantly since 2011, differences in the cost of higher education. The raising of fees for higher education in England occurred too late for Polish migrants' original migration decisions to be influenced by them, but it may be expected that continuing free higher education at Scottish institutions for Scottish residents, compared to fees of up to £9,000 a year for students resident in England and all those attending English institutions, will impact on Polish families in the two countries as it does on poorer British families. Accessibility of education (see

Chapters 5 and 6) is an important factor in migration for families, so that these differences may also impact on return considerations. However, at the time of this study and in relation to the stage of education that respondents' children have reached, differences between the Polish and British education systems are more evident and pertinent to families than those between the English and Scottish systems.

In relation to national identity, some respondents suggested that Scottishness holds more appeal to Polish migrants than Englishness or Britishness. Some pointed out that Scotland shared with Poland a history of threats from neighbouring countries. Scottish 'traditional' customs, for example wearing kilts and attending ceilidhs (Scottish dances) were described enthusiastically by some respondents. White finds participants in her study do not want to 'become British' (White, 2011b p163), and Bielewska finds that the migrants in Manchester in her study, while adopting a 'postmodern' identity, still regard themselves as Poles (Bielewska, 2011). However, becoming Scottish, in combination with maintaining Polishness, is presented as desirable by several respondents in my study. To ignore the study's location in Scotland might risk omitting important elements stemming from sense of identity and belonging.

Polish post-accession migration to Scotland, however, appears to share many characteristics with that to the UK. Several respondents in this study migrated first to England and later to Edinburgh, usually following a friend who had recommended Edinburgh for its housing, employment and lifestyle options; they portrayed the move as internal, between British cities rather than a choice to move to Scotland. While several respondents described their attachment to Scotland, others portray themselves as living in Britain. One family had considered moving to the South Coast of England and another moved to London during the year, viewing this as an internal move. Perhaps surprisingly, families more often took holidays in England, usually to visit Polish friends or family there, or en route to Poland, than in Scotland.

In the study design, the Scotland/UK distinction impacted on interview and questionnaire wording, in selecting whether migration and return were referred to in relation to Scotland, the UK, Edinburgh or simply 'here', as well as in analysis and presentation of the research findings, in choosing whether, for example, to categorise a move to England as onward migration or continued stay.

For the sake of consistency, throughout the thesis, I try to present the host location as Edinburgh situated within the UK. Scotland is introduced to the discussion however whenever it was introduced in interviews as relevant to the issues discussed. In interviews, while questions were initially phrased using 'here' in place of the host location, it turned out to be impracticable not on occasion to refer to either Scotland, 'the UK' or 'Britain'. This reflects the nature of informal conversational interviews, where consistency and comparability between interviews cannot be rigidly maintained without interfering with the natural flow of conversation.

Edinburgh

Whether compared with cities in the UK or Scotland, Edinburgh can be seen as having some unusual characteristics. It is small compared to an urban immigration hub such as London, but offers a historic centre, and employment, education and leisure opportunities associated with its status as a capital city. Data from the Census in 2001 show that already a decade ago Edinburgh was the most 'cosmopolitan' city in Scotland, with over 2% of residents born in EU countries outside the UK, 5.5% born outside the EU, and more than 13% born in England, Wales or Northern Ireland - exceeding equivalent percentages for Glasgow, Aberdeen or Dundee (General Register Office for Scotland, 2003). In-migration to Edinburgh rose sharply after 2003 (see e.g. Nicol and McMurray, 2007) and Scottish government figures show in-migration from overseas to have been higher to Edinburgh than any other Scottish city every year since 2004 with Edinburgh overtaking, for example, Glasgow in terms of in-migration from overseas in 2003/4 (General Register Office for Scotland, 2011c).

Its distinctiveness and relatively high in-migration make Edinburgh a particularly interesting location for study of migration, but may also weaken slightly the relevance of findings from this study to other areas of Scotland, as experiences of migration may differ. The employment, social and housing experiences of those who settled in rural areas of Scotland may be expected to differ substantially from those described here, while those of living in other cities across Scotland and the UK are likely to be similar in many respects. Respondents who had lived in other British cities compared Edinburgh favourably with them, having relocated for Edinburgh's preferable lifestyle options, and Edinburgh's particularities may also influence their future plans. Restricting the focus to Edinburgh however has the advantage that employment and housing options were similar across the group, limiting variations in characteristics of respondent families to personal characteristics and allowing for a focus in analysis on these factors.

The Thesis structure

As several researchers have highlighted, post-accession Polish migrants are not a homogeneous group (Cook *et al.*, 2010; Eade *et al.*, 2006; Fomina, 2009; Ryan *et al.*, 2009a; White, 2011c) and this applies to families as well as single migrants. A high level of diversity of experience was found within the respondent group. This arose partly because the group encompassed parents who had arrived independently before having children as well as those migrating with their families. Diversity of experience also resulted from several other factors: parents' level of English fluency varied widely; some parents found paid work in Edinburgh prior to migration while others sought work after arrival; some were in professional employment and others in unskilled manual work; and parents and children of a wide range of ages were included in the study. As a result in analysis and presentation of the study findings the respondent group is divided into groups of families who share key characteristics. The thesis is structured to reflect the approach to analysis, which combined exploration of the experiences of the different kinds of family, with analysis of overall trends across the whole respondent group.

In Chapter 2 I present and discuss the theoretical approaches utilised in analysis. These are selected from several different theoretical disciplines as well as more general sociological theory, and include theory specifically relating to migration and family as well as wider sociological theory. Theoretical approaches are selected according to their assessed usefulness in enabling understanding and providing insights in analysis of the experiences of particular groups of families within the study and across the whole study group.

Chapter 3 presents the research questions which guided the study, discussing rationales underlying the methodological and design decisions taken and looking at how data-collection and analysis methods were selected to address the research questions and aims effectively. Different techniques in analysis appropriate to the qualitative data collected were combined to enable the data to be analysed and presented in complementary ways. As well as identifying and analysing themes within and between interview transcripts, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) (Ragin, 1987) is utilised to identify and analyse patterns across the whole group, and trends identified as relating to different types of families are utilised in providing a context for the analysis of the experiences of individual families.

Chapter 4 introduces three distinct groups of families identified among the study group. The characteristics and migration rationales associated with each group are described, and the reasons for the occurrence of the groups investigated through a consideration of influential factors in Polish society and the trajectories of migration and settlement of families of each type. Finally, techniques drawn from QCA are employed in presenting a more structured analysis of the whole group. This technique enables distinct clusters within the group to be identified, and links between families' characteristics and lifestyle outcomes to be explored.

Chapters 5 to 7 each take as their focus one of the identified types of family in turn and present an analysis of experiences and attitudes predominantly associated with this group. Each of these chapters utilises a different theoretical approach from among those discussed in Chapter 2 in the analysis it presents, looking at recurring

discourses evident from the interviews, and at attitudes, choices and behaviours which are evident among the group. Each of these three chapters concludes by presenting selected case studies of families who exemplify the strategies and attitudes which provide the focus of the chapter. A focus on older families who migrated together in Chapter 5 makes use of 'reference group' theory, originating in the 1960s, to analyse the experiences of families in which parents have only basic English skills and children are older, and to describe their lifestyles and their own assessments of the migration project. Chapter 6 focuses particularly on young families in which parents migrated before having children. It makes use of theory in relation to the gender-division of work and care, in looking at parents' preferences and how these are realised in the context of opportunities in working and training in the UK. Chapter 7 looks at parents who have employment skills and networks that enable them to consider future migration, either to a third country or to Poland. The chapter draws on 'mobilities' theory, and its roots in cosmopolitanism in exploring discourses evident in interviewees' accounts in relation to 'openness' and identifying family characteristics that enhance or restrict mobility.

In Chapter 8 the whole study group is encompassed in investigating families' plans for the future. This chapter again makes use of QCA techniques to assist in identifying the relationship between the three family types in relation to their expectations and plans for the future. It explores discourses around 'feeling at home', relating elements identified in these discourses to factors important to the decision to stay or return. Key factors in the decision to stay or return are identified, and changes in families' lives during the study year explored in relation their impact on future plans. This chapter, in keeping with the approach of the whole thesis, combines analytic techniques in order to provide an in-depth and nuanced understanding of the process of decision-making in relation to settlement or return and to link families' expectations and plans with their personal characteristics and personal migration trajectories, showing how these shape the context in which their decisions are made.

Finally Chapter 9 provides a summary of the findings of the study, answering the research questions and assessing key successes and limitations of the adopted

methodology and design. Issues relevant to social policy arising from families' experiences and potentially worthy of future attention are outlined and the research findings are placed in context with previous research into post-accession Polish migration to the UK.

Chapter 2: Utilising the academic literature in analysis of integration and return decisions

In this project selection of appropriate theoretical background to inform the analytic framework was to some extent an iterative process. Theory relating to family and to migration, together with recent research concerning Polish migration to the UK informed the research design and were used in identifying key themes to be explored. During the analysis stage a wider range of theory from across academic disciplines was sought and selected according to its usefulness in explaining the collected data. Migration research occurs within, and holds implications for, many disciplines, and employing a range of theoretical approaches enables a full and nuanced picture to be painted. King (2002 p91) for example argues that 'disciplinary and paradigmatic closure are the enemy of an effective, sympathetic study of human migration'. This chapter then collects together a number of academic debates, drawn from different disciplines, which are called on in subsequent chapters where they are particularly pertinent or illuminating in relation to the data presented.

I start the chapter with a discussion of the concept of integration. Chapter 1 discussed how focusing on integration in the migration experience relates to the adoption of a relatively traditional and nation-bounded approach, and to some extent plays down the relevance of recent transnational and global trends. Foregrounding integration is not intended here to deny the existence and relevance of 'transnational' behaviours (when taken to mean behaviours which involve significant movement and communication between two countries) and, as is argued in chapter 1 and further developed here, 'successful' integration and transnational interactions may co-exist. This is followed by a section looking at family theory, encompassing theory relating to family migration, as well as that relating to gender division of work and care, which provides the focus of Chapter 6 in analysing respondent parents' work and care arrangements and preferences. Theory relating to mobility and cosmopolitanism, described next, provides the theoretical approach in Chapter 7, and 'reference group' theory is utilised in Chapter 5. I end the chapter by looking at research relating to

return migration, drawing on literature relating both to migration in general and that concerned specifically with return decisions of post-accession Polish migrants in the UK.

Integration

Integration is a concept which needs careful unpacking before it is employed in research analysis as a number of assumptions are often implicit in its use (Castles *et al.*, 2003). A key underlying assumption links integration with assimilation, and implies that migrants change, or *should* change, over time after migration to become more similar to an imagined mono-cultural host country norm. Academic literature however draws attention to the fact that both the migrant and the indigenous population are likely to be changed by the integration of immigrants, as well as to the diversity of host country identities and norms (Brubaker, 2001; Castles *et al.*, 2003; Portes and Zhou, 1993).

Further, integration is usually conceived as a process which migrants undergo over a period of time (albeit some faster, some slower), after which it is implied that they may become 'fully' integrated. While acculturation and settlement occur over a period of time, I suggest however that integration may be better represented as a state that can be achieved to a greater or lesser extent depending on context. In explaining this idea, it is helpful to look at possible measures of integration and identify the elements that constitute it.

Integration at the level of the individual has been measured using a variety of indicators, with those selected relating to the particular focus of research and methodology employed. For example, in quantitative US research, integration 'success' has often been measured using employment-status as an indicator (e.g. Nee and Sanders, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993), human geographers have focused on housing location (Phillips, 2006, Simpson, 2004) and qualitative researchers on identity (in Scotland, Hopkins, 2004; Hussain and Miller, 2004; Saeed *et al.*, 1999). Esser (cited in Bommes, 2005) distinguished four dimensions of integration, which

he labelled ‘cognitive’, ‘structural’, ‘social’ and ‘identificational’ respectively. This conceptualisation usefully highlights that the concept of integration encompasses understanding and knowledge of host country customs and values, language acquisition, involvement with host country institutions, social interactions in a variety of contexts, and finally, sense of belonging or identity.

‘Success’ in integration is dependent on a range of factors, which are themselves also measures of the level of integration achieved. For example, language-ability, income, employment-status and housing, knowledge of culture and the local area, as well as enabling ‘successful’ integration, may all also be used as measures of the extent to which it is achieved. Thus success in integration to some extent makes further success easier, generating, as White describes in relation to Polish migrants, a ‘virtuous circle’ in integration, while lack of integration inhibits further integration, potentially generating a ‘vicious circle’ of exclusion (White, 2011b).

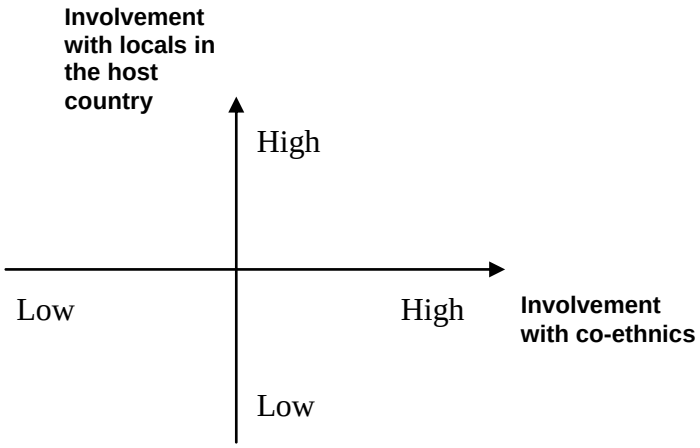
Two factors identified as key to integration are employment and language. Migrants in highly-skilled work are more likely to develop social networks with non-migrants, while those in low-skilled employment, who often work long or unsociable hours, are restricted in their ability to form social networks and often limited to those with other migrants (Ramasawmy, 2007; Ryan *et al.*, 2008a; Spencer *et al.*, 2007). Language has been identified by scholars and policy analysts as critical in integration (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; Dustmann and Soest, 2002; Esser, 2006; Ryan *et al.*, 2009a) as ability to communicate underlies access to employment, social interactions and understanding of culture and customs. Within my study, language ability is found to underlie key differences in experiences of life in Edinburgh and the options available for respondents.

Considering integration levels in relation to the available indicators at the micro-level, it would appear however that it is not only migrants who may not be ‘well’ integrated - many indigenous individuals would also rate poorly according to these measures: one demonstration of such failure on the cognitive dimension is that British natives commonly fail sample citizenship tests, but equally many indigenous

people are not highly sociable, many do not participate in community organisations, and many fail to access high quality housing and employment. Focusing on the social dimension of integration (perhaps its most obvious sense), if we imagine measuring levels of social interactions for all individuals, migrants might easily rate more highly than native-born individuals.

Beyond relating to level of involvement with the host country, theorists identify integration as potentially occurring into different sections of the local population and which groups migrants integrate with influential to 'success' in integration (Nee and Sanders, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Sumption, 2009). Migrants' social contacts influence their employment and housing options and interactions with wider social groups. When social circles are restricted to co-ethnic networks, employment may be found through these and this may restrict interactions with others still further. At least in the early stages after 2004, Polish migrants seemed to be 'integrating' largely into Polish social networks in the UK (Eade *et al.*, 2006).

Figure 2.1 Two-dimensional model of integration/identity formation



Discussions of integration often draw on a two dimensional analysis, using involvement with social networks or level of cultural identity to map degree of connection with co-ethnics against that with the locals in the host country (see figure 2.1). Versions of this model have been used to describe acculturation (Segall *et al.*, 1990) and adoption of identity and customs (Modood and Berthoud, 1997 after

Hutnik, 1992). Applied to social interactions, this conceptualisation fails to distinguish between involvement with 'co-ethnics' in the host country and involvement with those in the home country - obscuring the difference in this case for example, between engagement with other Polish migrants in the UK, and interactions with family and friends in Poland (i.e. 'transnational' contact). Outcomes for migrants however seem likely to differ for those primarily engaging with local co-ethnics from those primarily engaging with co-ethnics in their home country. In my MSc dissertation I utilised a three-dimensional typology, dividing social interactions with co-ethnic contacts, according to whether they were situated in the host or sending country and attempted to 'place' recent migrants according to their levels of involvement with the three groups: local indigenous, local co-ethnic and home country co-ethnic (Ramasawmy, 2007). As well as throwing light on the complexities of individuals' social networks and identities, this provided a simplified test of whether high levels of transnational interaction are associated with low levels of integration in the host country. Among my MSc study group this did not seem to be the case. Other European studies have found similarly that transnational involvement does not in general inhibit integration with the host population (e.g. Snel *et al.*, 2006; Vancluysen *et al.*, 2001).

A factor particularly relevant to this study which influences migrant integration is the presence of children (Ryan *et al.*, 2008b). Through their children, parents form links with other parents, teachers and providers of children's services. Children themselves usually have an advantage in integration over their parents through engaging in full-time schooling (although, as discussed in Chapter 5, high numbers of co-ethnic pupils in a class may inhibit this) and older children often act as 'go-betweens' for their parents (Baptiste, 1993; Valenzuela, 1999). This may have the effect of assisting parents' integration where children 'bridge the gap', or as a barrier to it if, for example, parents rely heavily on their children to communicate on their behalf. Further, children's integration may present a threat to their parents' preferences of home country cultural practices and identity, and this may alienate children from their parents (Sylwia Spooner drew my attention to this phenomenon among Polish families in Scotland) and potentially hinder parents' own integration. The presence

of children also impacts on the parents' and particularly mothers' engagement in paid employment, something that is itself influential on integration. Children's age also seems likely to be important to parents' integration: a pre-school child needing care while parents engage in paid work provides potential opportunities for social contact with carers and other parents; a primary school child needing care outside of school hours often limits mothers' working hours, while older children increasingly form their own social networks.

In the 2000s, integration became associated in UK debate with 'social cohesion', a term utilised in response to a series of riots involving geographically segregated ethnic groups in Northern English towns. Policies encouraging and increasing integration and social cohesion were presented as a means of addressing these problems (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). It is important here to distinguishing between integration, as it has been conceived in the above discussion, at the individual level, and that at the group or community level; while interrelated, they describe distinct processes. The concept of social cohesion is associated with a discourse of 'ethnic community', which is largely drawn from the characteristics of Asian, and particularly Muslim, communities (such as those described by e.g. Anwar, 1979; Phillips, 2006). However, as discussed in Chapter 1, recent migration from East Europe seems to differ from traditional migration particularly in that there is a relative absence of organised community, with Polish migrants forming only clusters constituted of family and small groups of friends (White, 2011c). A focus on integration of communities is then likely to be less useful for analysis or policy development in relation to these migrants (Markova and Black, 2007).

The many strands to the concept of integration were used to inform the design and analysis of this project. In particular the four dimensions identified by Esser were taken as a basis for exploration in interviews, and in analysis care was taken to avoid implicit assumptions as discussed above. The project focuses on migrants' own experiences of the different dimensions of integration and how they interrelate with other key areas of interest to the project: family, work and care, and return plans.

Migration, gender and family

Migration theorists advocate the integration of three different theoretical levels of analysis in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of migration processes (Massey *et al.*, 1999). At the macro level, state immigration and employment policies and the relative socio-economic conditions of sending and receiving countries impact on migrants' options and behaviours. At the micro level, individuals form personal strategies based on their perceptions of relative opportunities and potential earnings in sending and receiving countries, and at the household or extended-family level individual family members negotiate to maximise benefits to the family as a whole (Stark and Bloom, 1985). At the meso level, norms and discourses of society or community legitimate certain types of migration, and informal and formal networks develop which assist migration flows. Gender and family are implicated in migration experiences in different ways at all of these levels (Lutz, 2010; Oishi, 2002; Pedraza, 1991).

Gender and work and care strategies in migration research

Research focusing on migrant women has identified that their experiences of migration (even apart from their role in family migration, discussed below) differ from those of men in two distinct ways. First, employment opportunities are very often determined by gender and for migrant women who are unable to access professional or skilled work, care and domestic work very often provide the only the available employment option. Second, women usually maintain closer connections with family members in both the sending and receiving country, and are more likely to maintain responsibility for care of family members across countries than men (Morokvasic, 1984; Ryan *et al.*, 2009a). This combination of responsibilities and employment can result in transnational 'chains of care', with, for example, migrant mothers leaving their own children in their home country to be cared for by a grandmother in order to take up care roles in the receiving country (Kofman and Raghuram, 2009; in relation to Polish migrants Ryan *et al.*, 2009b).

Migration theorists have argued that a full understanding of the processes of migration cannot be gained by simply introducing sex as a quantitative variable into migration analysis however, since gender relations structure migration decisions and experience at all levels of analysis (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). They point to the need for a shift from recognition of the existence of women's migration, to an analysis of all migration decisions and behaviours from a gendered perspective. This shift results in a corresponding switch from a focus on public behaviours and regulations to an investigation of the private sphere (Pedraza, 1991), and from a focus on actions and rationales to one on negotiations, discourses and norms. Aspects of migration that have been theorised in relation to gender, include work and child-care arrangements (Datta *et al.*, 2007; Wall and José, 2004) and gender-relationships within the household (Parrado and Flippen, 2005).

In a study of migrant families living in a number of European countries, Wall and José identified four different strategies in relation to work and care:

- Managing work and care through mother-centredness
- Managing work and care through extensive delegation (formal or informal child-care)
- Managing work and care through negotiation within the family
- Not managing work and care without child negligence (Wall and José, 2004)

Their analysis demonstrates the relationship between migrant work and care strategies and types of migration, with 'professional migration' associated with extensive delegation of child-care, 'marriage migration' with mother-centredness and 'unskilled worker migration' with a range of unsatisfactory child-care solutions including child negligence, care by older siblings and children accompanying parents to the workplace.

Wall and José distinguish between couples who prioritise child-care, engaging in paid work if and when acceptable child-care options are available, and those who prioritise paid work, adopting whatever child-care options are available, however

unsatisfactory. They highlight the pressures that migrant families face in relation to 'managing' (rather than simply 'balancing') work and care. Similarly, Datta *et al* (2007) identify 'coping strategies' adopted by migrant parents with low incomes including: high levels of mobility between jobs, working overtime, working concurrently at more than one job, employment of older children and working unsociable shift-work hours. All of these strategies are evident in the accounts of respondents in my study, both in their lives in Edinburgh, and also for some respondents in their lives in Poland prior to migration. Their study and mine also identify the importance of level of earnings and of availability of informal child-care to migrant parents' strategies.

Gender is addressed more overtly by Parrado and Flippen (2005) in a study comparing Mexican families who have migrated to the U.S with families staying in Mexico. They identify three dimensions within which gender impacts on relationships, which they label, labour, power and 'cathexis'; these represent respectively: the division of informal care and domestic work in the home, power relations between partners, and the emotional and symbolic representation of the man's and woman's role in the relationship. In their analysis, they investigate how external factors such as opportunities for women to work, and contact with social networks and with extended family impact differently on each of these dimensions of gender. Their results show for example, that while women are more likely to engage in paid work in the US than in Mexico, women in paid work in Mexico are likely to do less informal work in the home. Their analysis highlights the different kinds of influences associated with the husband's and wife's parents, with the husband's family, who are more often also located in the US, more likely to encourage mothers to provide a traditional role in supporting their husbands while the wife's family more often provide support for her against the husband's demands. They also show maintenance of traditional power roles between partners in the US to be associated with lower levels of social networking. This analysis highlights how extended family, societal norms and levels of social interaction may all be implicated in gender relations and draws attention to the complexity of influences and outcomes involved.

These approaches then demonstrate that a subtle and nuanced approach to analysis of causal links between external influences and migrant families' behaviours enables a more meaningful interpretation. In relation to Polish migration, White's study, looking at mothers' roles in decision-making about family reunification in the UK provides an example of the distinct roles of mothers and fathers in migration decisions, and the importance of customs and norms to the strategies families adopt (White, 2011b). It is worth noting here that quite different kinds of gendered norms of behaviour are apparent in Polish families, coming from a European and post-communist society than are typical among those migrating from traditional developing countries to more developed countries.

Family migration theory

The presence of children is important in the decision to migrate in a variety of ways. Relevant factors might be expected to include: reduced willingness to take risks and migrate before housing and employment are arranged and the potential lifestyle is understood, parents' perception of the quality of education and future usefulness of qualifications gained in one country relative to another, disruption to the education process at critical stages (e.g. around public examinations), perceived success and happiness of children in settlement and integration, and parental perception of the desirability of children adopting the cultural values and customs of a country. The presence or absence of a co-ethnic community may influence this judgement; in my study some parents sought out Polish clubs and schools, out of a concern that their children were lacking the benefits of Polish educational and cultural influences and norms as well as Polish friends.

The pattern traditionally observed in family migration research has been that the father finds work in the receiving country and the mother either accompanies him or joins him later as a 'tied mover' (Mincer, 1978) or 'trailing spouse'. This assumption has been challenged by research that looks at recent trends where the woman's work is also taken into account in migration decisions (Baker and Benjamin, 1997); in relation to Polish migration, women have been shown to be actively involved in

migration and family reunion decisions (Ryan *et al.*, 2009b; White, 2011b). 'Family investment theory' (Baker and Benjamin, 1997), based on a human-capital approach, suggests that family members negotiate work and migration decisions with the aim of maximizing the total economic gain for the family. They present results of a Canadian study (*ibid.*), which conformed to this model and showed women engaging in low-skilled work after migration to assist their partner in retraining to become the long-term breadwinners, so that men were more likely than women to attain higher incomes in the long term. Research in the US (Blau *et al.*, 2003) however, has shown migrant women engaging in work to the same extent as their partners; Blau *et al.* explain these findings by suggesting that both partners' individual employment opportunities are taken into account in negotiating family migration decisions. This pattern might be anticipated to be more appropriate to Polish migrant couples, given the Polish norm of women's engagement in paid work, and the high proportion of women among those registering for work with the WRS (UK Border Agency, 2009). Economic-calculation approaches to migration decisions have been criticized (Smith, 2004) however for overlooking other rationales couples may have for migration beyond the economic, relating to quality of life and family well-being as well as the cultural, lifestyle and social-network opportunities available in potential destinations. Smith (2004) points out that women may not always regard lack of employment after migration as a negative outcome, and may even plan for this. We might anticipate that couples who have more traditional life-style preferences may perhaps be more likely to migrate, since for them the increased likelihood of one partner being unable to find employment does not present a problem.

King identifies the phenomenon of 'lifestyle migration', in which people migrate not for economic but for 'quality of life or aesthetic reasons', 'to enjoy a more relaxing and healthier life in a culture which is somewhat different from and more appealing than their own' (King, 2002 p100), a phenomenon typified by British retirees who migrate to Spanish coastal resorts in search of sunshine and a more relaxed pace of life. King notes that people who do this are usually sufficiently wealthy that financial considerations are not of concern. While for Polish families who migrated to the UK after 2004, economic considerations are almost always implicated in the migration

decision, it became evident from interviews in my study that 'lifestyle' considerations and the possibilities offered by societal differences are also an important element and cannot be overlooked; societal differences recur in the analysis in my study and form a key concern in Chapter 6.

Gender division of work and care

Changes in the organisation of work in recent decades have been widely recognised as associated with the increasing proportion of women, and particularly mothers, engaged in paid employment, although cause and effect in these changes cannot easily be distinguished (Horrell and Rubery, 1991). In particular the decline of manufacturing, the rise of service industries and the increasing prevalence of 'flexible' work – in the sense of work available at non-traditional or part-time hours - have been seen as contributing to women's continued engagement in paid work after having children, as well as to overall decreases in levels of male employment and increases in those of female employment (Cousins, 1999; Horrell and Rubery, 1991). Equal opportunity legislation and requirements for maternity leave have further assisted women in participating in paid employment.

Comparative studies of women's employment in Europe (Cousins, 1999; EUROSTAT, 2008) identify differences between countries in the scale of women's participation in employment and in the prevalence of part-time work. In the UK the proportion of mothers in paid employment has risen over recent decades, with a relatively high proportion in part-time work, while in Poland, as discussed in Chapter 1, a lower proportion of women are in employment, but of those who are, a much higher proportion work full-time. Further differences are evident between Poland and the UK in relation to gender-equality in employment; although gender-equality was fore-grounded in Poland during the communism regime, the introduction of a free-market undermined equality in access to employment, and Poland was slow in implementing EU gender-equality legislation to combat this (European Commission, 2007; Fodor, 2006).

Family theorists have proposed different ways of characterising attitudes to gender-division of paid work and informal care. De Henau (2007) uses selected questions from the European Social Survey to place respondents on a scale from 'traditional' to 'egalitarian'. Hakim (2003), uses an indicator of 'work centrality', which combines actual behaviours with ideals, to identify three types of women whom she labels 'work-centred', 'home-centred' and 'adaptive' respectively. Braun *et al.* (1994) carried out quantitative analysis using two national surveys to investigate differences in attitudes to employment between East and West Germany; using factor analysis they identified three areas over which attitudinal differences can be distinguished: the consequences of women working, gender ideology and the importance placed on paid work.

In their analysis, Braun *et al.* identify causal links between attitudes and societal norms. For example, they suggest that financial insecurity in East Germany can be seen as the cause of the greater emphasis placed on family evident in the survey results; they suggest that family is seen in this context 'as an important refuge and source of social support' (Braun *et al.*, 1994 p31). On the other hand, as suggested in the discussion of Polish norms in Chapter 1, financial insecurity may also lead to a perceived necessity for both parents to engage in employment. Braun *et al.* highlight the fact that several of the survey questions may be answered either from a gender-equality perspective or from a focus on economic security for the family, for example, agreement with the statement, 'Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income', could stem from a concern with either (or both).

Drawing on the three areas identified by Braun *et al.* I identified the following attitudinal factors for investigation in my study:

- *Gender ideology* Level of agreement with the idea that women have primary responsibility for child-care and other informal work in the home, while men are primarily responsible for financial family support.

- *Attitudes to Child-care* Beliefs and preferences about the implications for children and family of children being in professional or family-provided child-care.
- *Work-centrality* The perceived importance of engaging in paid work: self-fulfilment or economic necessity.

In order to explore respondents' attitudes I adapted questions from the above surveys in questionnaires used in my study to supplement interviews (see Chapter 3 and Appendix D).

Preference theory, proposed by Hakim (2000) focuses on women and the choices they make over whether to engage in full-time careers, to stay home and look after children and home, or to be 'adaptive', changing between these two behaviours according to circumstances. Hakim argues that women can be categorised into three distinct types according to their preference for one of these lifestyle[3] options. Her theory asserts that only when societies meet a set of criteria for modernity, are women enabled to act on these preferences. The criteria she identifies include changes in organisation of work as described above - increased availability of part-time work suitable for secondary earners, the reduction in traditional industry and equal opportunities - as well as wider societal developments such as availability of contraception and increased individualism and affluence (Hakim, 2000).

In this project I make use of this idea of societal factors enabling lifestyle choices of this kind to be realised, as well as the idea that people differ in their preferences over work and child-care, but my approach diverges from Hakim's in two ways. First, I look at the couple as a partnership who have joint preferences rather than focusing on the woman alone. In doing so, I do not assume that couples always agree with each other or that one party usually dominates or does not; nor do I explicitly focus on negotiations between partners. I aim instead to explore parents' preferences in work and care (whether negotiated, combined or individual) in relation to the question of

[3] 'Lifestyle' in this context, following Hakim, is used in a restricted sense, to refer only to work and care patterns and the division of these between partners

whether migration to the UK is perceived as enabling the realisation of these preferences. Second, I make different assumptions from Hakim about the origins of such lifestyle preferences. While agreeing that couples within one society often hold different lifestyle preferences, I suggest, in line with the type of analysis provided by Braun *et al.*, that cultural norms are likely to influence couples' attitudes, and I look for the roots of respondents' preferences in the historical development of societal norms in Poland.

Mobility theory and its roots in Cosmopolitanism

The third area of theory utilised in analysing the interview data, and employed particularly in Chapter 7, relates to mobility and cosmopolitanism. The origin of the concept of 'cosmopolitanism' stems from late 18th century, and is particularly attributed to Kant, who, proposes 'world citizenship' as supporting a set rights or laws which he labels '*ius cosmopoliticum'*, constituting part of the requirements for the achievement of 'perpetual peace among states' (Kant, 1795pp 7-9) . From this origin, the concept of the 'cosmopolitan' evolved to describe an individual who adopts a tolerant and civilised attitude to other peoples and cultures.

Merton (1968), in a study of 'influential' people in a small town community in America during World War II, contrasted 'cosmopolitans', individuals who see themselves as part of the world beyond their own town, with 'locals', whose interests and identity are restricted to local matters, and uses this distinction to explain further differences in attitudes and behaviours. Although this is not his focus, Merton notes that the cosmopolitan attitude is associated with a desire to move out of the town. Subsequent literature places the element of travel more centrally in defining cosmopolitanism, developing the paradigm of 'the cosmopolitan' as a person who travels widely and embraces different cultures and ideas encountered in doing so. Hannerz, refining the concept, describes 'genuine cosmopolitanism' as 'a willingness to engage with the Other' which 'entails an intellectual and esthetic openness to divergent cultural experiences' (Hannerz, 1996 p103).

Travelling and embracing new ideas, through the concept of the cosmopolitan, becomes constituted as a form of education and self-improvement, with the 'cosmopolitan' individual developing skills in negotiating different cultural settings and understanding alternative perspectives. This experience is sometimes presented as a form of self-realization, and Hannerz even goes so far as to include self-interest among the characteristics of the cosmopolitan:

> 'Cosmopolitanism often has a narcissistic streak; the self is constructed in the space where cultures mirror one another' (Hannerz, 1996 p103)

Urry (2007) turns this around in claiming that in the desire to achieve 'perfection', mobility is one among several desirable attributes to be achieved (Urry, 2007).

Bauman (1998) highlights that the good life, for those who can achieve it, can be likened to a 'continuous holiday', for people living in the modern world who have become 'consumers', constantly seek new experiences. The appeal of travel relates to the excitement of the new, its unpredictability, and its dissimilarity to previous experience. Hannerz (1996) distinguishes the 'true' cosmopolitan from both the tourist, who is seeking 'home plus sunshine' or 'home plus lions', and the 'ordinary migrant', who is looking for 'home plus higher income'. The true cosmopolitan possesses a 'general openness to a somewhat unpredictable variety of experiences' (Hannerz, 1996 p106). Translating this into the language of migration research, the 'cosmopolitan' is someone who is distinguished from both the economic migrant and the 'lifestyle migrant'.

Several theorists have noted however, that enacting cosmopolitanism requires membership of an elite group (Calhoun, 2003; Kofman, 2005). Kofman argues that, in idealising the 'cosmopolitan', the fact that only the educated and rich have the opportunity to travel freely has been overlooked. Further, the concept has prioritised Western values. Although Europeans and Americans take their right to travel freely for granted, citizens of many other countries do not. Only those in a privileged situation are able to break free of national and local links to travel freely, as the kind

of support and security these links provide is necessary for less advantaged people to survive (Calhoun, 2003). The cosmopolitan's secure and elite background allows him to travel while knowing that he can always return home if he needs to. Hannerz highlights the example of expatriates who know 'that they can go home when it suits them [..] (T)hese are people who can afford to experiment' (Hannerz, 1996 p106). Finally and significantly, the 'cosmopolitan' individual has traditionally been presented as male (Hannerz, 2005; Molz, 2011).

A related area of research encompasses recent societal change in its conceptualisation, focusing on the concept of 'mobilities' (Adey, 2010; Sheller, 2011; Urry, 2007). Academics in this field argue that, as new communication and transport technologies allow for significant increases in movement of information, people and objects, this fundamentally changes the way world societies operate, and identify mobility as a key characteristic of the modern world.

In Bauman's (1998) analysis, in the modern world it is control over one's mobility that defines social status. People are divided by this ability into 'tourists' who are able to choose to travel or migrate, and those who are either unable or unwilling to travel, who either remain local or become 'vagabonds', forced to move and leave their homes but not accepted elsewhere. Theorists of mobility studies have extended this focus on control over mobility to encompass not only personal mobility, but also the ability to utilise mobility in the world more generally. Kaufman *et al.* (2004) propose a concept of 'motility', which they suggest can be conceptualised as a form of capital, akin to economic, human and social capital, which can be accumulated and utilised, in conjunction with other forms of capital, or interchangeably with these. By accessing information from across the world, by trading in goods, or by travelling, a person may earn money, build social networks or gain knowledge and skills. In Kaufman's conceptualisation, 'motility' is not necessarily correlated with high levels of personal travel or experiences of migration; someone who runs a global business using the internet makes use of their 'motility' without necessarily migrating, while a victim of the sex trade may move between countries, but nevertheless have little or no control over their own mobility, and thus a low level of

motility. I employ this concept of 'motility' in distinguishing among parents in this study, showing how respondents with different characteristics differ also in their ability to utilise mobility.

In Favell's book 'Eurostars and Eurocities' (Favell, 2008a) he presents the experiences of young Europeans who have migrated to live in one of the four city 'hubs' of Northern Europe: Paris, London, Brussels and Amsterdam. He suggests that one element in personal conceptualisations of mobility is the sense of freedom associated with having no ties or obligations in one particular location:

> The liberating feeling can even get to be quite addictive. You might keep chasing it. (Favell, 2008a p11)

Lacking local obligations and possessing the energy and enthusiasm to travel are more generally associated with youth, and most of Favell's Eurostars over time have settled in one place, rather than continuing to roam. For most migrants, freedom to be mobile is intrinsically temporary in nature. Raising a family, building and maintaining relationships and adopting cultural practices all still tend to be seen as requiring settlement in one place for a substantial period. Favell questions whether mobility over the long term can continue to be a positive experience:

> Mobility can get to be a burden, a pathology, even a disease. A life without norms can also be a life adrift, in fragments, with no social or spatial coherence; a shadow of a society around you, a ghost passing by. (Favell, 2008a p211)

And there are losses associated with mobility: in the physical proximity between members of social networks, in communicative ability, and in sense of rootedness and belonging (Hannerz, 1996; King, 2002):

> 'Perhaps real cosmopolitans, after they have taken out membership in that category, are never quite at home again, in the way real locals can be.' (Hannerz, 1996 p110)

Free-roaming migration may be conceived either as having a clear end purpose or as an end in itself. For the cosmopolitan as described above, there is an element of self-improvement, for Bauman's 'consumer' there is a constant need to experience something new, but for several of Favell's respondents, and parents in my study, migrating and mobility constitute part of a life strategy. Migrating between countries enables gathering of information which assists migrants in selecting the best place to settle. Urry distinguishes the 'nomad' from the 'migrant', identifying that for the nomad there is no 'reterritorialisation afterwards as there is for the migrant' (Deleuze and Guarttari cited in Urry, 2007 p33). Reterritorialisation is always at the back of the minds of most of those who free-roam; few plan a whole life of mobility.

Key to the strong sense of freedom to roam within Europe, evident in Favell's analysis and also highly relevant to East-West intra-European migrants, are recent reductions in border controls. The fact that this freedom was not previously available generates a heightened sense of liberation for those who can utilise it. Favell emphasises the removal of border controls within Europe, comparing ease of travel with its previous inconveniences and with restrictions still in place elsewhere. Clearly for British and Polish citizens historic norms differ greatly in relation to freedom to travel. Indigenous British people take their right to travel for granted and emigration by British citizens to a variety of countries has long been commonplace, while for Polish citizens, travelling freely and working outside of Poland are still relatively new possibilities and deeply felt as a result.

The above discussion implies then that having a cosmopolitan outlook makes individuals more likely to migrate, but also distinguishes those who migrate primarily for economic gain from 'cosmopolitans', who migrate for new experience and self-fulfilment. Braun and Recchi (2009) in their analysis of PIONEUR data, distinguish 'expressive' from 'instrumental' reasons for migration, in a categorisation that to some extent reflects the cosmopolitan-local divide. They include among expressive reasons for migration, love and quality of life, while instrumental reasons are typified by work or study. Braun and Recchi find that those who migrate for 'expressive' reasons are more likely to identify with the receiving

country than those who migrate for instrumental reasons. The processes at work here however are complex, and it would be misleading to extend this reasoning to infer that those who migrate for 'expressive' reasons are more likely to integrate, since those who migrate for 'new experiences' may also be more likely to move on.

Reference groups

Another theoretical framework adopted in analysis in this project, forming the analytic approach in Chapter 5, utilises the idea of 'reference groups' or 'reference points' adopted by individuals in assessing and presenting their own lives. The reference group concept was originally developed by Hyman and Merton in the US and later used by Runciman in the UK (Hyman, 1942; Merton and Kitt, 1950; Runciman, 1966). Runciman, following Merton and Kitt, looks at how reference group adoption impacts on personal satisfaction and contentment, analysing results from a study of soldiers' attitudes to promotion and then applying findings to wider society (Runciman, 1966). In the study it was noted that greater dissatisfaction was expressed by a soldier in a section where a large number of others were promoted above his own level, than by a soldier in a section where fewer others were promoted. Runciman identifies an optimal situation for satisfaction, where the potential for promotion was demonstrated by a few promotions occurring, but where these were not too frequent. An individual who is not promoted does not feel then that he is failing with respect to his peers, but retains a sense that promotion is still a realistic possibility. Applying the concept to levels of satisfaction in the population in relation to income and social position, Runciman argues that 'relative deprivation' is damaging to individual contentment and well-being and so should be a concern of social policy.

Reference group theory distinguishes between normative reference groups, from which one's own values and attitudes are drawn, and comparative reference groups, against whom one compares oneself. Normative and comparative reference groups may sometimes be one and the same. A further distinction is made between reference groups of which one is already a member and groups which are selected as reference

groups for other reasons - for example, a group to which one aspires to belong, or which one wishes to distance oneself from.

Part of the debate around reference groups focuses on the effects on individuals of their adoption, while another strand concerns reasons why particular reference groups are adopted. Hyman (1968) points out that theorists had tended to assume that selection of reference group stemmed from 'the pleasure principle', implying that people adopted a group which enhanced their status or sense of belonging, but he argues that this is not always the case. Returning to the example of promotions of soldiers, he points to the fact that those promoted then compared themselves to higher ranking individuals, suggesting that reference group selection may stem from aspiration. Theorists more generally agree that a reference group is only likely to be adopted if individuals share some attribute(s) with its members.

Fan and Stark have more recently utilised the concept of the reference group in migration research, looking at its usefulness in explaining both decisions to migrate (Stark and Bloom, 1985) and integration behaviours (Fan and Stark, 2007). They argue, for example, that where the income gap between natives and immigrants is large, this acts as a disincentive to integration and makes migrants more likely to restrict their social interactions to co-ethnic networks. This is based on the assumption that integration with local people leads to their adoption as an individual's primary reference group, so that a wide income discrepancy would result in unfavourable personal comparisons. This argument is perhaps questionable as it makes use of the 'pleasure principle' described above, rather than prioritising aspiration as the rationale for selection of social networks or reference groups. In Fan and Stark's study the social networks with whom individuals primarily interact are taken as a proxy for reference groups.

Kosic *et al.* (2004) employ the reference group concept similarly in relation to integration. In a quantitative study of Eastern European migrants to Italy they take current social networks as a proxy for individuals' main reference groups in order to measure how reference group adoption immediately after migration, when seen in

conjunction with a personal psychological characteristic 'Need for Cognitive Closure' (NCC), influences integration outcomes. A high level of NCC relates to a desire to establish static and well-defined situations for oneself in social contexts, while a low level reflects preparedness to live in a state of uncertainty and flexibility. They find that for those who associate with co-ethnics on arrival, a high level of NCC is associated with a long-term failure to integrate with natives, whereas low levels of NCC are associated with greater integration. For those who interact early on with locals, they show the reverse to apply. Applying this to my respondent group, it might be anticipated that parental ages will relate to 'need for closure', with younger adults perhaps more tolerant of uncertainty and more likely to change reference group allegiance over time (and integrate better) as a result. We might also go on to suggest using this kind of analysis that those who focus on opportunities for themselves and their children in the UK, may be more likely to look for 'aspirational' reference groups, while those who are looking for security and stability for their families may be more open to adoption of reference groups according to the 'pleasure principle'. Analysis of rationales for the adoption of particular reference groups takes us into the realm of psychology which is beyond the remit of this study, but contexts and possibilities in adoption of reference groups and their outcomes on satisfaction and on plans for the future are argued to be highly relevant to understanding the attitudes and plans of Polish migrant families.

As well as these applications of reference group theory, I also draw on a slightly different application, suggested by Merton and later used both by Cerase in relation to integration and settlement (Cerase, 1974), and more recently by theorists of the economics of happiness (Clark *et al.*, 2008; Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2008). This approach includes among the reference points used by individuals and influential on their sense of well-being, their own past lives and experiences. Clark *et al.* (2008) and Di Tella and MacCulloch (2008) use this approach to identify and analyse the importance of habituation to increased wealth, while Pop-Eleches (2009) uses a similar idea in analysing attitudes in Eastern Europe, observing that his respondents make comparisons with a romanticised view of their own earlier lives under communism. I find that several respondents in my study make comparisons with

their past lives in Poland and argue that the financial insecurity and resulting stress they experienced then constitute a major element contributing to their high level of satisfaction with their current lives.

Exploring which reference groups are implicitly and explicitly adopted by different respondents in their interviews and how they change over time assists in explaining levels of satisfaction, sense of belonging, and assessments of the success of the migration project. Similarly to McGhee *et al.* (2012) I suggest that this may impact on future plans and return decisions.

Return

Before presenting relevant literature relating to migrants' return to their countries of origin, it is worth noting some inherent problems with research into 'return'. An initial problem for researchers is methodological - how to identify a valid and useful research sample. Quantitative studies which compare returners with those who stay tend to identify the returners (or leavers in general) by their absence from later rounds within a longitudinal study, combined with a lack of other explanations for this, providing an imperfect but approximate sample. For qualitative researchers, where there is the possibility of carrying out fieldwork in both countries, two samples can be drawn, one of 'stayers' and one of 'returners'. A study within the destination country is however necessarily limited to selecting a group of migrants who have not (permanently) returned. If respondents who return subsequently drop out of the study (as did two families in my study) information relating to them is limited to that collected before return with a lack of data relating to their actual circumstances and rationales at the time of return.

In destination-based qualitative studies then, data usually relates to return intentions rather than to the return experience itself. However, as several theorists (De Jong, 1999; Dustmann *et al.*, 1996; Lu, 1999; Waldorf, 1995) have noted, correlation between intentions and behaviours cannot be assumed, so that future predictions about actual behaviours from research findings are of limited reliability. Coulter *et*

al. (2011), researching intentions in relation to moving house, unpack the concept of 'intentions', separating desires from expectations and demonstrating that the combination in which these two elements are present relates to likelihood of acting on intentions. A further important distinction relating to 'intentions' in return, highlighted through the methodology adopted in my study (see Chapter 3) relates to the importance of distinguishing immediate and medium-term plans from distant plans or desires. While many Polish migrants to the UK had plans to return within months or a few years, this needs to be distinguished from the hopes of return by those who intend to return one day in the distant future (referred to by Anwar, 1979, as the 'Myth of Return').

Other kinds of methodological problem arise in data collection in relation to the determinants of return. Gmelch (1980) suggests that in interviews respondents may tend to oversimplify, picking out or prioritising those factors they consider most appropriate given their perception of the context of the interview and the intentions of the research project. Gmelch suggests that rather than asking interviewees open questions about rationales, it is better to present interviewees with a list of potential factors which are potentially relevant to return, asking them to indicate the relative importance of these. This project utilised both approaches in order to incorporate both unprompted answers and respondents' views on a comprehensive list of intentions. Carrying out two interviews with each family in this study also contributed to the analysis by enabling greater depth of discussion and the observation of changes over time (see Chapters 3 and 8).

While quantitative studies of factors influencing return migration have been undertaken, it would be over-simplistic to imagine that a set of rules for determinants of return across all of the world's migrants could be achieved. Rationales for return vary with home and receiving country contexts and with characteristics of migrants themselves. This is an area where qualitative research identifies patterns and makes sense of data which can always be difficult to interpret in large-scale quantitative studies. Many past migration studies relate entirely or primarily to migration from developing to developed countries, for example from Africa or the Indian

subcontinent to Europe and America. Migration from rural economies with traditional extended-family-owned small-holdings, are explained well by 'the new economics of migration'(Stark and Bloom, 1985), whereby remittances and the future of family businesses form part of the rationales for migration of individual family members. Studies of this kind of migration often focus on the relevance of moving between traditional and modern cultures, with differing standards of living and labour patterns, with qualitative research focusing particularly on differences in cultures and norms. Rationales in relation to return in these traditional migration contexts are likely to differ from those relating to intra-European migration with its 'new' characteristics, even when it is recognised that there are still substantial discrepancies in the standards of living between different regions of Europe.

Some general findings about determinants of return migration are useful for placing Polish migration within the context of other historic migrations and predicting and interpreting trends. At the macro-level, how return likelihood varies between different kinds of migration is highlighted for example in Borjas and Bratsberg's (1996) study of return migration from the US, which identifies those most likely to return to their home countries from the US in the decade up to 1980 as migrants from wealthier and geographically closer countries. This result perhaps suggests that the characteristics of intra-EU migration, in particular the relative proximity of sending and receiving countries and low cost of travel, as well as societal similarities between countries may increase likelihood of return. Theorists have suggested that increased ease of contact with homeland may make staying away more manageable, with greater ability to maintain social networks with those at home (see for example migrant experiences described in Bielewska, 2011; Ryan *et al.*, 2009b), and so reduce the likelihood of return, as well as the opposite, that greater communication with home may facilitate return, for example through assisting the process of 'returnee preparedness' (Cassarino, 2004).

Traditional migration from less to more developed countries also tends to differ from intra-European migration in the level of border restrictions. Where visas are not required, decisions over both migration and return have fewer implications and can

be made more easily and quickly. Intra-EU migration may perhaps share more characteristics with 'internal' migration or migration between developed countries, than with traditional international migration, making the decision over whether to stay or return less weighty.

Cerase (1974), in a typology designed to account for migrants' behaviours after return, identifies among four types of return, 'the return of failure', to describe migrants who return to their home countries as a result of failure to integrate. In the post-accession Polish migration context however, as Friberg (2012) points out, it is not straight forward to interpret return as 'success' or 'failure', as migration was often originally intended to be temporary or return intentions were uncertain. Perceptions of failure can be important to return decisions however, as Gmelch (1980) points out and some of my respondents also suggested, if migrants anticipate that friends and family in Poland will view return as indicating failure of the migration project, this can provide a deterrent to return.

This discussion highlights the importance of analysing reasons for return within the context of the rationales for the initial migration (Gmelch, 1980). Whether original aims have been met forms at least part of any measure of 'success' or 'failure', and return takes on different meanings, rationales and likelihoods depending on the original aims of migration. One important contextual variable is the extent to which the original migration was a voluntary choice. This variable ranges over a spectrum from a forced migration (e.g. deportation) at one extreme to 'lifestyle' migration at the other, with many possible variations between. 'Economic migrants' encompass a wide range within this spectrum, from those suffering severe financial hardship in their home country, to those who have an acceptable or good standard of living, but migrate hoping to improve it nevertheless.

Polish post-accession migrants in the few years after arrival commonly expressed uncertainty about their length of stay (Eade *et al.*, 2006; Iglicka, 2008; Kaczmarczyk, 2008; Schneider and Holman, 2011), so that an assessment of 'success' or 'failure' of the migration project for these migrants needs to be made in the context of their

current, as well as their original, hopes and plans for the migration project. Following the typology proposed by Eade *et al.* (discussed in Chapter 1), for those originally intending a temporary stay - 'storks' and 'hamsters' - appropriate measures of success of the project appear to be determined at the time of initial migration. For 'storks', repeated circular migration was a pre-planned strategy, so that return is a required part of and indicative of success of the project. For 'hamsters', who are 'target savers' (Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt, 1993; Dustmann, 1994) 'success' of the project as originally conceived would be return with their target savings within the intended period. However, it is evident from White's research (White, 2011b) as well as my study that these migrants frequently found, once in the UK, that their saving plans had been unrealistic and extended their stay as a result. While this indicates 'failure' of the project as originally conceived, this process involved altering their return plans along with the development of a preference for longer-term or permanent settlement; 'success' and 'failure' need now to be measured against migrants' new hopes and plans.

A focus on original intentions in migration also highlights the importance of the context in which these were formed. Where migration of a parent is considered as a strategy for coping with harsh financial circumstances, with other family members remaining behind, migration may form part of a wider family strategy, with remittances, target saving, family visits, and either return or family reunion in the destination country potentially indicative of success of the migration project. Stark's 'new economic theory' of migration has a resonance for these families negotiating 'livelihood strategies' (White, 2011b) for the whole family. Relevant and sometimes critical to return for families is who is left behind. For families, as some in my study, in which all family members - siblings, grandparents and children - migrate together, return may be less relevant or desired and hold a quite different meaning.

A further variable in relation to return, is the degree of confidence with which migrants perceive return to be permanent. Close proximity, ease of travel and lack of border restrictions may mean that return can be more easily regarded as potentially temporary. This likens return to a further migration project, which may succeed or

fail, and migrants may feel that they can come back to the UK if the return project fails (Schneider and Holman, 2011; White, 2011b). Among my study group, this approach is discussed in Chapter 7.

Rationales for return

Many researchers have found that return does not usually relate solely to rational decisions about economic gain, but most commonly to 'missing home'. Gmelch notes:

> Most studies, however, report noneconomic factors as the primary reasons for return migration [..]. Most frequently mentioned are strong family ties and the desire to be in the company of one's own kin and longtime friends. (Gmelch, 1980 p139)

This has been found to be true of Polish post-accession migrants in the UK (Pollard *et al.*, 2008; Schneider and Holman, 2011; Spencer *et al.*, 2007). An IPPR report in 2008 found that:

> By far the most commonly-cited reasons for returning to Poland are those related to people's personal or family lives. Almost four in ten returned migrants (36 per cent) say they left the UK because they missed home, almost three in ten (29 per cent) cite wanting to be with their family in Poland as a reason for returning, and a further seven per cent that they left the UK because their spouse, partner or other family members were returning home. (Pollard *et al.*, 2008 p5)

A more recent study of A8 migrants in East England up to 2010 finds that migrants still highlight family and missing home among their reasons for wanting to return:

> Pull factors, as noted by the majority of interviewees, still relate to family relationships – ageing or ill parents, or simply missing home.
> (Schneider and Holman, 2011 p42)

Studies in Poland have also however identified alternative explanations for return. A survey carried out shortly after the onset of the recession found that losing one's job was the most often cited reason for return (Iglicka, 2009, quoted in White, 2011b p201). This highlights that, while immediate triggers and longer term reasons for return may differ, they may combine to reinforce each other.

Pollard *et al.*, interviewing returnees in Poland, also identified that a 'significant proportion' of returnees had always intended to return (thus belonging to the 'hamster' or 'stork' categories):

> 16 per cent saying they always intended to return once they had earned a certain amount of money, 15 per cent stating they intended to return after a certain amount of time and 18 per cent after their temporary or seasonal work had come to an end. And overall, just under one in seven of the migrants who returned home (15 per cent) left the UK in order to continue their education. (Pollard *et al.*, 2008 p48)

As well as acknowledging the importance of original plans and the family context among the determinants of return decisions, it is important to look at the relevance of perceptions of the political, economic and social situation in both countries. As White (2011b) emphasises, comparisons between societies underlie the return decision, and societal change perceived in either location may lead to a reassessment of the potential benefits of return. In particular the recession, impacting on the UK from 2008 onwards, was expected by many commentators to provide a trigger for many Polish migrants to return home, and as stated above, Iglicka, as described above, found loss of employment to be the most commonly cited reason for return at that time. However, it seems that Castles and Vezzoli were right in predicting that:

> If migrants have long residence and strong family ties, have invested in education and housing, and can benefit from welfare payments, then they will be likely to endure through the crisis rather than take the risk of returning to the origin country. (Castles and Vezzoli, 2009 p71)

Recession did not result in mass return migration to Poland, although it was clear that the numbers of new arrivals from Poland fell (UK Border Agency, 2009). Schneider and Holman's respondents, along with several interviewees in my study, felt that even under recession, the UK would still provide them with a better standard of living than Poland (Schneider and Holman, 2011 p57).

As well as the reduced security and availability of work in certain employment sectors that resulted from the economic crisis, particularly for example in construction, Pollard *et al.* identified other factors which could lead Polish migrants to return. One of these was the British pound falling against the Polish złoty. For migrants planning on spending their UK earnings in Poland the exchange rate is particularly relevant. The pound fell in value from around 7 złotys in 2004 to just over 4 in 2008, and then levelled at around 5 złotys to 2012. While this hugely affected Polish migrants' potential spending of savings on return, the importance of such comparisons needs again to be seen in the context of migrants' migration strategies and aims. For families who prioritise their children's education and settlement or for those who have decided they prefer a UK lifestyle - for any migrant who has stopped 'looking back' to Poland - comparisons of spending capacity become less relevant.

A further potential option for Polish migrants during this period was provided by the lifting of employment restrictions imposed in 2004 on A8 migrants to Germany and other 'old' European countries. Germany in particular became pro-active in encouraging and incentivising Polish workers to migrate there, and it was anticipated that many Poles in the UK would move on to Germany (e.g. Hall *et al.*, 2011). But a large scale move failed to materialise. It has been suggested that this was due partly to Polish perceptions of poor working conditions and bad treatment by employers in Germany (Deggerich, 2011). In autumn 2012, Canada was reported to be attempting to draw Polish skilled migrants from the UK to fill labour shortages, emphasising the potential for migrants to utilise English skills there they had developed in the UK (Dugan, 2012).

Families and return decisions

Concerns for families in deciding to return differ from those of single migrants, and both quantitative (Dustmann, 2003) and qualitative (Ryan *et al.*, 2009b; White, 2011b) studies of return highlight the importance of the presence and age of children. Return for parents requires, as does the original migration decision, a greater degree of advance organisation and confidence about housing and employment security in the return location than for single migrants. The most important factor identified in relation to children in Polish families in the UK however, is education; once children are involved in school in the UK, parents are reluctant to disrupt this (Ryan *et al.*, 2009b; White, 2011b). A respondent in White's study refers to families' 'fatal decision' to start their child in school in the UK (White, 2011b p212). Because of the perceived difficulties of re-entry to the Polish school system, White assesses that parents of teenage children 'really have little choice but to keep their children in the UK after they reach the age of 14' (*ibid*, p213). Highlighting the importance of children in families' decision-making, she assesses that 'in the end [..] the decision about whether to return or to stay is likely to be made on the basis of what is assessed to be in the best interests of the children' (*ibid*, p222).

A further issue relevant to family return decisions is that individual family members' preferences may differ. Coulter *et al.* (2012) use the British Household Panel Survey in relation to decisions to move house to demonstrate the importance of agreement between partners in a couple to acting on their preferences. Once children are older, their views need to be taken into account as well (White, 2011b p210). White describes children from her study who preferred to stay in the UK while both parents want to leave. In contrast, some children in my study wanted to return to Poland while both of their parents planned to stay, and some of these children hoped to return once they had finished school. Djajic (2008) develops a model to explain outcomes in migrant families when children who are reaching adulthood disagree with their parents about return. While his study concerns families at a later stage than that reached by most Polish migrant families in the UK, he identifies some potentially useful variables which influence families' decision making, including: the

desire to stay together as a family, the desire to stay in the host country (which he anticipates will usually be greater among children) and the desire to live in the country of origin (anticipated to be higher for parents), the relevance of cost and ease of travel, the importance of who takes the lead in decision-making, and the number of children in the family. We might expect the importance parents place on their children's preferences to depend to some extent on the children's age. How families negotiate among themselves over time is likely to be important to return behaviours, and the fact that all members need to be 'on side' is likely to impede or delay return. In my project, research design choices to carry out two interviews with each family over a year and to interview partners together assisted with analysis of family negotiations over time about return.

In studying migrant return it is particularly relevant to the receiving country to look at which kinds of migrants are likely to stay and which return. In relation to Polish and other A8 migrants to the UK, several researchers and agencies have found that families appear more likely to stay than single migrants (Schneider and Holman, 2011; Somerville and Sumption, 2009; The Federation of Poles in Great Britain (Z.P.W.B.), 2009). Pollard *et al.* (2008) predict similarly that those with involvements here beyond the purely economic are more likely to stay. White's respondents in the West of England portrayed a general picture in which 'families seldom or never return' (White, 2011b p205), while single people were going back. Pollard *et al.* further suggest that those who stay 'tend to be the better qualified and more aspirational' (Pollard *et al.*, 2008 p55). While this may have been true in relation to the whole range of Polish post-accession migrants in 2008, it is a claim that I find does not hold among Polish migrant parents in my respondent group, and my analysis aims to throw light on this finding.

An important and illuminating aspect of decision-making about return is the way attitudes and intentions evolve over time. In reaching a decision to return, as described above, some kinds of factors set migrants' attitudes and expectations over the long-term, while others act as triggers potentially leading to immediate action; these may not relate to each other, but may reinforce each other. However, once a

decision is taken to return, while a single migrant can just get on a plane or bus, for a family return takes organisation and preparation. Perhaps one or more members of a family may return suddenly, because of illness of a family-member or relationship break-up, but unless the family can move in with parents in Poland and previous employment is held open or new employment readily available, housing and employment must first be found. White emphasises the complexity of the decision, arguing that 'factors encouraging return have to be strong and also multiple. A simple turn in economic fortunes on a national level is unlikely to be enough to dislodge them. Even if one spouse loses his or her job it is not easy for the family to go' (White, 2011b p202).

An example of an immediate 'trigger' to return, can be a return visit to Poland, and such trips are identified by White (*ibid*.) as important in return decisions. How visits are experienced may colour migrants' attitudes to Poland in general, and if 'missing home' is highlighted as a key reason for return, spending time at home may bring these feelings to the surface. Visits, as well as other observed 'triggers' described by respondents in this study are explored in Chapter 8.

The studies carried out by White as well as by Schneider and Holman show Polish and A8 migrants more often increasing their intended length of stay than reducing it over the period since they arrived, and these intentions are what would be anticipated where migrants are becoming more involved with social networks and accustomed to British life and many of those who planned only short stays have already left (Waldorf, 1995).

Applying the theoretical frameworks

Each of chapters 5 to 7 focuses particularly on one kind of family among the respondent group, and applies a different theoretical framework to analyse experiences and attitudes identified as particularly typical of that group. Each of these analyses however are also relevant and useful in application across the whole

respondent group, and it will be argued that the theoretical conceptualisations provided respectively by reference group theory, family theory and mobility theory also assist in understanding the differences between the options available for, and strategies adopted by, the families in each of the different groups.

Chapter 3: Research Methods and Design

This chapter presents the methodology adopted in the research study, showing how methods were selected according to their assessed usefulness for collecting and analysing data which would answer the key research questions most effectively. I start by outlining my research questions and the research priorities which directed choices made in designing the study. Key choices over methods are then presented in turn and their strengths and weaknesses assessed, both in the light of their potential to answer the research questions, taking into account evidence from academic literature, and by considering their impact on the data collected. I next discuss the approach to fieldwork, including, access and interview methods, the respondent group size and issues relating to language and the use of interpreters. I end this section by looking at ethical issues raised by the study. Finally I consider the methods of analysis adopted and rationales for these.

In both data collection and analysis, my research methods are to some extent eclectic, combining more usual qualitative rich-data approaches with more structured techniques, for example in data-collection carrying out semi-structured interviews but also making use of questionnaires, and in analysis, combining the use of thematic coding of interview transcripts with more formal analysis of variables relating to family characteristics and attitudes. The project, however, is envisaged as situated firmly within a qualitative analysis framework and, lacking any element of quantitative data analysis, does not engage 'mixed methods' in terms of mixing qualitative and quantitative methodologies. I devote the last section of the chapter to a discussion of the rationales and benefits of mixing qualitative methods and the status of claims that can be made from the approach adopted.

The Research population and key questions

Central to the study, and arising from the post-accession migration context together with the theoretical issues discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the following definition of the research population and the key questions to be addressed were identified.

The research population

Families consisting of only Polish parents, with at least one child of 18 or under, living in Edinburgh, in which the parent(s) had migrated to the UK after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004.

The research questions

1. Factors in the decision to return

What are the main factors in families' decisions to stay, to return or to move on? How do these change over time?

2. Work and child-care

What are the work and child-care preferences and strategies of Polish migrant couples with pre-school age children? How do perceptions of differences in work and care, and of opportunities for and experiences of school-aged children, between Poland and Edinburgh, influence parents' assessment of the migration project and their future migration plans?

3. Extended family

How important are the location of and contact with extended family members, to work, family life and future plans?

4. Integration

How do employment and the presence of children impact on integration experiences of all family members? How do integration experiences influence the decision to stay or return?

Answering the above questions contributes to answering the final question:

5. Characteristics of those who stay

What are the characteristics of migrant families who are most likely to stay for the long term in the UK?

Aims of research design

In addressing these questions, the study aimed to prioritise methods which would:

- enable comparisons between families
- be gender-balanced
- explore how different family members are involved in decision-making
- explore the processes involved in how the decision to stay or return evolves over time
- prioritise respondents' perspectives and incorporate their own self-assessments in analysis
- overcome, as far as possible, limitations imposed by language barriers
- encompass the diverse range of Polish families in Edinburgh

In order to address these research questions and aims, I adopted strategies which I outline briefly here and describe in greater detail below.

A qualitative approach was selected. While this choice was in part dictated by the lack of a comprehensive sampling frame for the population of Polish migrant families, qualitative research methods are also those most appropriate for enabling

in-depth exploration of attitudes and behaviours, which formed the basis of the research aims in this study.

To aid comparisons between families, to prioritise respondents' own self-assessments, and to increase the reliability of communication in a context where my first language differed from that of interviewees, I supplemented informal semi-structured interviews with 'tick box' questionnaires. Combining these methods, two different types of data are collected: rich-text interview transcripts and discrete variables, generated both by attitudinal questionnaires and relating to family characteristics.

To assist exploration of processes of change during migrant settlement, to see how events in families' lives and society influenced their attitudes and plans, and to generate better relationships between myself and respondents, each family was interviewed twice with a 12-15 month gap between interviews.

To achieve gender-balance and to collect data relating to input by, and interactions between, different members of the family, I interviewed mothers and fathers together whenever possible, and encouraged children to join their parents in interviews when they were available and happy to participate.

To encompass diversity of family types, I sought families who exemplified difference over identified key variables and accessed respondents through a variety of kinds of organisations, locations and contacts.

A Qualitative Study

The study aimed to explore attitudes and behaviours, processes of change, and interactions occurring between family members in relation to integration and decision making about the future, and for this a qualitative study design was considered the most appropriate.

As has been noted by previous researchers (Rolfe and Metcalf, 2009; Trevena, 2009), data relating to Polish migrants in the UK has not been comprehensively collected, so that identifying a sampling frame of the research population of Polish migrants, as would be required for large scale study, would be problematic. While, as I discuss at the end of the chapter, a small study cannot claim that its findings have statistical significance, qualitative methods are ideally suited for in-depth investigation of personal experiences, perceptions and intentions. In data-collection, interactions between researcher and interviewee in a relatively informal interview context generate insights and understanding, while in analysis the rich text data available in interview transcripts provides material for exploration of potential interpretations of discourses drawn on and attitudes and rationales expressed. Finally, employing qualitative methods in data-collection and analysis in this project allowed respondents' own perspectives to be fore-grounded and the direction of analysis to be guided by their priorities and experiences, fulfilling a key research aim.

Semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire

Questionnaires are commonly used as a stand-alone data-collection method within quantitative studies. Their use in this study however was not intended to be used to demonstrate any statistically significant trends over the group, as a sample size of thirty families would be too small for that purpose. Reasons for including the questionnaire were that:

- By collecting data from each family in an 'alternative' format an element of triangulation was introduced, strengthening confidence in interpretation of data. This was considered particularly useful in the context where my first language differed from that of respondents.

- By giving respondents the power to decide how to 'place themselves' using discrete variables or scales, with respect to aspects of their lives pertinent to the study, greater emphasis was placed on respondents' own interpretation and self-

assessment. This was considered preferable to an approach in which I summarise research findings based on my own overall impressions and interpretations of each family. Where my impression from the interview contradicted that presented by an interviewee in their answers to the questionnaire, this provided material for exploration (see below). Questionnaire data was not taken to be 'the truth' to any greater extent than interview data, but simply as an alternative way in which respondents presented their views.

- The questionnaire format provided a shorthand summary picture of each family, which could be used, together with characteristic variables (age, job etc.) to categorise families, providing potential frameworks for comparative analysis of families across the respondent group.

- Some key questions were included in both years' questionnaires and changes in responses to these were useful in highlighting change over the year.

Questionnaires were presented in Polish to provide standard wording across the group. An interpreter translated them from the original English version and we discussed choices over wording, aiming to preserve intended nuances as far as possible (questionnaires are reproduced in Appendix A).

Questions in the questionnaire issued at the first round of interviews were generated from the research questions and related topics: rationales for migration and for considering return migration; work, child-care and education, extended family and integration. Where possible questions from previous studies of relevance to my research issues were incorporated, adapting them as necessary in the context of my respondent group and translation concerns. Material and wording for questions concerning migration were drawn from IPPR survey questions and data (Pollard *et al.*, 2008) and other recent surveys of A8 migrants. Sections relating to work and child-care made use of: the European Social Survey, and particularly de Henau's (2007) analysis (see Chapter 2), Eurobarometer no. 27, as utilised by Hakim (2000),

and the German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) and discussion of this by Braun *et al.* (1994) (see Appendix D for key question sources).

Second round questionnaires repeated five questions from the first, relating to factors over which change over time was of particular interest. Further questions were designed to collect information identified as missing, ambiguous or lacking depth during analysis of the first round of interviews, and to strengthen and test potential conclusions from this analysis e.g. exploring further the possibility that respondents fell into distinct groups according to their rationales for migration and priorities for life in Edinburgh.

To allow an informal and relaxed atmosphere at the start of interviews, questionnaires were presented to respondents only at the end. If respondents were short of time they were offered the options of a stamped-addressed envelope for its return or an electronic version for return via email.

Outcomes from the use of questionnaires

One advantage of including questionnaires was that they could be given individually to parents, so that their individual responses could be collected along with joint accounts from couple interviews in which they potentially influenced each other's responses.

The questionnaires also allowed for the inclusion of a larger range of issues than was possible in the interview. Answers to open-ended and non-leading questions in interviews were supplemented with responses to comprehensive lists of potential options, drawn from the research literature, in the questionnaires. For example, in interviews respondents were asked 'What were your reasons for deciding to migrate?', while in questionnaires they were asked to rank items in a list of potential factors in migration by importance. In relation to some individual issues this approach enhanced my understanding of respondents' priorities significantly. One couple, for example, who commented during the interview that the father's son from

an earlier marriage lived locally, did not mention this during the interview in relation to their reasons for deciding to stay, while in the questionnaire both parents ranked 'Staying with family or friends here' as most important among the options listed. Apparent contradictions thrown up by the two data collection methods and identified during analysis of the first round interviews were explored further in second interviews.

A disadvantage with leaving questionnaires to the end of the interview was that a proportion of questionnaires were not returned. Table 3.1 shows a break-down of numbers of returned questionnaires.

Since response numbers from mothers, fathers and couples were uneven, results needed to be analysed with care; comparisons cannot always be made of 'like with like' for questionnaires from each family or across the group as a whole. Different analyses were carried out in relation to individual parents, couples or families, as appropriate to the context and data.

Table 3.1 Questionnaire returns

Families returning at least one Round 1 questionnaire	23
Families returning at least one Round 2 questionnaire	25
Families returning at least one questionnaire in both rounds	20
Families in which both parents returned both questionnaires	10
Total no. of round 1 questionnaires returned	36
Total no. of round 2 questionnaires returned (39 individually, 1 jointly for couple)	40

A further potential disadvantage with presenting questionnaires at the end of the interviews was that the interview content potentially influenced responses given. This disadvantage was considered to be balanced however by the advantage that discussion during the interview assisted interviewees in understanding the intended meaning of questionnaire questions. The approach, however, undermines the validity of making comparisons between questionnaire responses from this study and those to the same questions in other studies.

The combination of two interviews with two different forms of data collection enabled understanding of subtleties in relation to plans and expectations about return to Poland. After the first round of interviews, my general impression was that all but five families wanted to stay permanently, but from questionnaire responses, only in seven families did one or both parents indicate disagreement with the statement: 'I want to return to Poland one day to stay'. In order to investigate this apparent contradiction, as well as to explore changes in attitudes over the year, the second questionnaire asked about agreement both with the original statement, 'I want to return to Poland one day to stay', and with a second statement: 'I expect to be in the UK in 5 years time'. Further, in second interviews I asked both about short term plans as well as about respondents' feelings about the idea of never returning at all. In this way it was possible to disentangle hopes of eventual return from practical expectations and intentions not to stay more than a few years, and to distinguish factors associated with each.

Interviews with couples and families

At the design stage of the project, perhaps the most problematic decision concerned whom to interview within each family. The outcome was ultimately to some extent determined by the options offered by respondents once I embarked on interviews. As argued by several family researchers, an approach where only mothers are perceived as able to give a full picture of the family is unsatisfactory (Becker, 1996; Bernard, 1982; Larson and Richards, 1994; Pahl, 1989; Warin *et al.*, 2007), so the aim was for fathers to be represented in the study if possible on an equal basis with mothers. However this turned out to run contrary to the assumptions made by a substantial proportion of parents in the study, who in response to my request for interviews indicated that they felt mothers were the appropriate parent to participate, feeling that fathers are less well-informed of family concerns; this attitude impeded the implementation of a gender-balanced design.

While the ideal in terms of exploring individual parent's perceptions and attitudes might have been to interview fathers and mothers separately in each family, this

approach was viewed as having several drawbacks. The maximum number of interviews that was practicable was assessed as sixty over two rounds of interviews, and interviewing both parents in each family would have reduced the total number of families included to fifteen, regarded as too few for a sample representing such a diverse population.

Asking parents to be interviewed separately was also seen as problematic. First, if this was a condition of participation in the study, it was likely to deter couples from involvement, as many parents worked long hours, sometimes alternating shifts with partners, and many had child-care demands. I was also concerned that implicit in the request is the assumption that the parents would give differing accounts and so, to a degree, a lack of trust in their accounts. Previous family researchers have noted this concern and that this approach can make respondents uncomfortable (Morris, 2001; Valentine, 1999).

> .. our methodology was saying that in the context of separateness, truer accounts would arise; or to put it more brutally, we believed they did have secrets from each other. (Morris, 2001)

It was also felt that those who chose to participate under these conditions would be a non-representative selection of Polish couples, more likely to be English-speaking and well-educated and so having greater confidence in communication, and more likely to be in professional jobs, as this appear to relate among Polish accession migrants, to having more leisure time. In the common situation where one parent possessed significantly stronger English skills, the partner with poorer English was usually less keen to be interviewed individually. Further, since the stated focus was on families, it was difficult to interest many fathers in an individual interview, as most considered the topic more appropriate for mothers to deal with.

While aiming to include fathers as well as mothers, the focus of the project was not on identification of differences between fathers' and mothers' experiences, as in studies by, for example, Warin *et al.* (2007) and Larson and Richards (1994), but rather to collect the fullest possible account, encompassing both parents'

contributions, and for this joint interviews were seen as the best approach. Pasupathi (2001) identifies how in joint interviews partners interact with each other, prompting each other to recount a fuller story than either would tell on their own. There are gains also in the more positive, relaxed and natural atmosphere and relationship with the family generated in joint interviews, enabling discussion and allowing a 'look in' on dynamic interactions over attitudes and plans (Arksey, 1996; Pahl, 1989). Sometimes during interviews, issues were raised that the couple had not previously discussed, and the interview situation prompted them to negotiate about it and these interactions were often particularly illuminating.

The conversation and data generated in interviews however, needs to be seen as a collaboration between family members and interviewer. In analysis, I do not assume that I have a 'superior' vantage point, but, on the contrary, that respondents will usually understand the issues they discuss and their own interactions considerably better than I can. This contrasts with the sociologist's expert and informed 'birds-eye' perspective described by some researchers who have interviewed family members individually (Ribbens McCarthy *et al.*, 2003; Warin *et al.*, 2007). In several interviews, parents invited older children to join in, adding to the voices and interactions represented. Joint interviews had the further advantage that where one partner lacked confidence with English, the other could assist with interpreting their answers and so encourage participation (but see related disadvantages below).

As a result of these considerations the plan adopted was to approach equal numbers of fathers and mothers to ask for a joint interview. When only an individual interview was volunteered, respondents were initially asked at this interview whether their partner could also be interviewed. However in early interviews requests to interview partners separately were all refused and it was felt that pursuing this strategy was undermining of trust, for the reasons discussed above, and was discontinued. Several fathers who were approached, on hearing the research described as concerning 'family' either attended the interview and took a back seat or suggested I contact their partners, and several mothers who were approached offered only individual interviews, implying that work and time constraints made it more difficult for their

partners to participate. As a result, only one individual interview was carried out with a father, and seven fathers were not interviewed at all. The numbers of interviews with different family members are summarised in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Summary of family members interviewed

Both interviews with couple together	12
One interview joint, one with mother only	6
One interview joint, one with father only	1
Both interviews with mother only. Father not interviewed	5
Interviews with mothers who were lone parents	4
First interview with mother only, no second interview	2
Total families	30

Joint interviews also presented some particular problems. Where one partner had stronger English language, they tended to dominate the interview, with the other partner becoming increasingly quiet, something that Arksey (1996) finds to be a potential weakness of joint interviews generally. This contributed slightly to the overall gender-bias, as mothers in the study group tended to have better English skills than fathers. Timing joint interviews was sometimes also problematic, as several couples were working shifts to cover child-care, making it difficult to find a time they could be interviewed together. This led to several late evening interviews and also meant that babies and toddlers were usually present. Children who were noisy or needing parental attention (particularly likely in evenings when children are more tired) sometimes disrupted the interview and hindered parents in conversing freely and coherently. However, this disadvantage was balanced by a perceived gain that the presence of even very small children allowed a view of the whole family and family dynamics and usually generated a warmer atmosphere and better relationships than interviews with parents alone.

When joint interviews could not be arranged, it was almost always the mother who was prepared to be interviewed alone (see table 3.2), leading to a gender-bias in data collection and making comparisons between families problematic. For some couples,

one joint and one individual interview was carried out, and while this provided an interesting extra dimension, as individual parents sometimes appeared to present their views differently depending on whether their partner was present or not, it had the drawback that it was then not always easy to distinguish changes in attitudes over time from differences in presentation of attitudes due to a partner's presence or absence.

Children's participation was encouraged and outcomes from their inclusion were usually positive. Gains included:

- A relaxed and inclusive atmosphere at interviews

- A whole family perspective

- Representation of children's voices along with those of parents aided understanding of families' experiences. On some occasions children debated and disagreed with parents, highlighting some contentious issues and negotiation processes.

Children's presence occasionally made it difficult to discuss sensitive subjects, such as problems with employment, and seemed likely to influence parents' interview answers. Equally, children's accounts in the presence of parents would be expected to differ from those they would express if they were interviewed alone.

Longitudinal study

Each family was interviewed twice with an interval of 12-15 months between interviews. The primary purpose of this approach was to enable an exploration of changes in family attitudes and plans and to link these to events and processes in families' lives. As other researchers have noted, a combination of cross-sectional and longitudinal data allows for choices in methods of analysis and generates rich data

(Lewis, 2007; Thomson and Holland, 2003). While the period of time between rounds of interviews was not long enough for unidirectional or progressive changes within each family to be identified, across all thirty interviews some general trends were observed. These trends were most clearly (if more simplistically) observable from the questionnaire responses, with comparison aided by the five key questions repeated in both questionnaires. Changes in the attitudes and plans of individual families and the relationships between events and processes of change in families' lives were explored in greater depth through analysis of the interview transcripts.

Advantages of the longitudinal design were:

- Improved relationships and increased trust led to second interviews that were more conversational and generated greater depth of discussion. Thomson and Holland (2003) similarly emphasise that the development of a relationship between respondent and interviewer over time makes interviews more enjoyable and improves communication.

- Having collected background family information and discussed migration and settlement experiences at the first interview, the second provided an opportunity for more detailed discussion about families' future plans and attitudes.

- The inclusion of more family members, and greater variety in combinations of members at each interview; some parents and children who were not available for interview in one round were able to participate in the other.

- Second interviews provided an opportunity for asking any questions that had been accidentally omitted, or that there had been insufficient time to ask, at the first interview.

- In second interviews, issues that had arisen in the first round could be followed up. This applied to issues which arose from particular interviews as well as out of analysis of the whole round of first interviews.

Respondents often added to or explained further during the second interview accounts or attitudes described at the first. This could be very useful when at the first interview their meaning had been unclear or had been misinterpreted, but as Thomson and Holland observe, when second interviews undermine interpretations made in analysis of a first interview, this ultimately raises questions about the stability, validity and reliability of any 'final' interpretation.

> Longitudinal qualitative data are intimidating in that there is no closure of analysis and the next round of data can challenge interpretations.
> (Thomson and Holland, 2003 p237)

As described by Lewis (2007), respondents sometimes related the same events at both interviews but provided different rationales or interpretations of them. Identifying the 'true' representation is not a major concern here, as the two contrasting interpretations may be illuminating in themselves.

In cases where the reasons for particular behaviour or attitudes were unclear at first interview, the second often helped to clarify them. For example, at one first interview, the father refused to translate for his partner who had recently migrated to join him and spoke little English. At the second interview however, with her English greatly improved, the mother expressed both her determination to learn English and her appreciation that his 'cruel to be kind' approach had assisted her in this aim.

- As Lewis (2007) argues, a longitudinal element in research design allows individual lives and changes with them to be explored within the context of wider societal (or policy) change, enabling an analysis of the 'interplay' between changes at the micro and macro level. This study took place at a time of economic crisis; while at the first interviews this did not appear to be impacting on respondents' lives or plans, by the time of the second interviews its impact on a variety of elements of respondents' lives and attitudes was evident.

Lewis also emphasises the importance of also exploring *lack* of change over time, explaining that 'the absence of change may be a positive as well as a negative finding: it may reflect stability, consistency or maturity' (Lewis, 2007 p549). In this study, while the process of settlement and integration may be perceived as a time when change is particularly rapid, stability in migrants' lives was interpreted in different ways: while for some families it demonstrated that they were already permanently or temporarily well established when the study began, for others it was indicative of continuing unresolved factors (such as language learning) which were obstructing future plans and changes.

Some weaknesses of the longitudinal approach were that:

- The period between rounds of interviews was not long enough to demonstrate significant changes in areas such as English language skill, education and training achievement or children reaching adulthood, to the extent that these are likely to instigate changes in plans. I hope to re-contact the respondent group after five or even ten years to investigate the more substantial changes that occur over a longer period.

- A much larger quantity of data is generated, which is messier and more time-consuming and complex to analyse. Fairly straight forward conclusions from the first round of interviews were sometimes undermined or complicated by the greater variety of experiences and the changes recounted in the second round.

As noted above, interviewing different family members at different interviews made it difficult to disentangle the effects of time passing and of events during the year on parents' attitudes, from differences resulting from the presence of different family members at each interview. Questionnaires assisted in this context in providing an alternative source of data, particularly when they were filled in separately by both parents and interviews were carried out only with one.

Changes observed among the study group included:

- Change in the intention to stay among a few families and change in the *desire* to stay, although not accompanied by changed plans, among others

- Changes in employment, including incidents involving discrimination at work, starting new jobs, and termination of employment

- Family member changes, including: two mothers who formed new partnerships, four families in which babies were born during the year, four mothers who were expecting babies at the second interview, changes in child-care, children starting school and moving between schools

- Three families left Edinburgh: parents in two families returned to Poland and one family relocated to London.

Level of attrition is a concern with any longitudinal study. In order to engender a good atmosphere and maintain contact with families, I gave each family a children's book or CD, or a Scottish reference book as a 'thank you' gift at the end of each interview, and sent Christmas cards to respondents during the year. Out of the thirty families interviewed in the first round, parents from twenty eight families were interviewed in the second round. While the proportion retained was high, disappointingly, the two families who could not be interviewed in the second round were the only two families who moved back to Poland during the year. One family could not be contacted for second interview, and the other couple had separated, with the mother and child returning. The father in a family who relocated to London during the year however agreed to a video-interview via Skype.

The Respondent Group: Characteristics and Access Methods

In order to encompass a wide variety of types of family and experience, parents were contacted through as many different routes as practicable (see table 3.3). Care was taken not to restrict access points to Polish community organisations, so that migrants who are not involved with such organisations would also be represented. Ensuring multiple access routes was important particularly because certain routes were identified during fieldwork as associated with particular respondent characteristics and attitudes of relevance to the focus of the study. For example, attendance at Polish Saturday schools, for some migrants at least, related to plans to return to Poland, as parents wanted their children to keep up to date with the Polish school curriculum in preparation for return, while respondents accessed through my own personal British contacts spoke fluent English and were in professional employment. Respondents were accessed through a Catholic church, two Polish clubs and a Polish Saturday school, two local schools, an ESOL class, Polish delicatessens, through several personal British and Polish contacts, and through other respondents; in order to avoid significant clusters of interconnected families, no more than one onward contact was followed up from any one family.

Table 3.3 Access Routes for contacting respondents

Route	Number of families
Catholic church	4
Catholic primary school	2
Polish Saturday club	5
Polish Monday evening club	4
Polish delicatessens	2
Non-denominational state school	1
ESOL class	1
Surestart centre, Polish mother and toddler group	1
Personal Polish contacts	3
Personal British contacts	2
Polish Saturday school	2
Another respondent	3
Total	30

While a purposive sample was not formally sought, locations were selected and individuals approached with the aim of maximising diversity. In a social situation

with potential interviewees there is only limited scope for selection or rejection of individuals volunteering to participate, but personal and contact details were collected on location and individuals contacted later to arrange an interview, providing scope for selecting families to follow up to represent a variety of characteristics. Variation was sought over variables identified as of interest in relation to the research questions: age of children, family make-up (large and small families, those with and without extended family living locally), parental employment type, work patterns (including multiple work, part-time work and home-maker mothers), qualification level, parental English language skill, and length of time since they arrived in the UK.

Table 3.4: Top 10 employment sectors for WRS-registered migrants in Scotland

Hospitality and catering	18,255	23%
Administration business and Management	16,555	20.9%
Agriculture	13,715	17.3%
Food/fish/meat processing	9,265	11.7%
Construction and land	5,375	6.8%
Manufacturing	5,120	6.5%
Health and medical	2,830	3.6%
Retail	2,600	3.3%
Transport	2,010	2.5%
Entertainment and Leisure	1,015	1.3%
Total in top 10 sectors	**76,745**	**97%**
Others or not stated	2,530	3.2%

(adapted from UK Border Agency, 2009, table 10)

Table 3.5 Respondents by employment sector (1st interview, main employment only)

Cleaners and laundry workers - including employment by private clients, shops, hotels and public sector organisations	11
Health care	8
Professional and Administrative (other than Health)	7
Construction (skilled and unskilled)	6
Education and child-care	5
Hospitality and Catering (incl. kitchen assistants but excluding cleaners and laundry workers)	4
Retail (incl. tailoring)	3
Recycling	3
Transport (drivers)	2
Food processing and packaging	1

Employment sectors represented in the group were compared against previous research data relating to Polish and A8 migrants (see, for example, Table 3.4). While varied employment sectors were represented within the group, some sectors represented in previous data were absent. Fewer parents worked within the hospitality sector than might have been expected and the reason for this became evident from interviews: several younger respondents described how soon after migration they had worked in the evenings in hotels or restaurants, but had moved to employment with hours more conducive to child-care when their children were born. Only one parent worked in food processing/packaging, and there were no parents involved in agriculture; this is unsurprising as all respondents live in or near the city and have children living with them, so are less likely to be involved in seasonal or short-term work typical of rural Scottish regions (as described, for example, by De Lima *et al.*, 2007). Respondents represented a diversity of work skill levels, including manual and unskilled, semi-skilled and professional employment.

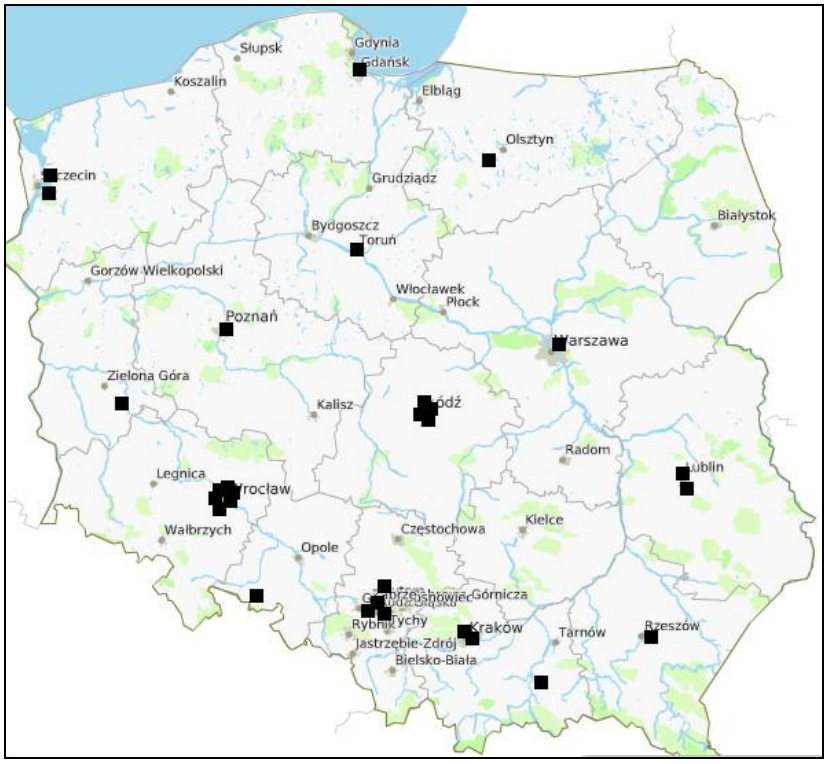
Table 3.6 Family characteristics of the respondent group

Highest parental English language level*		
Advanced	Intermediate	Elementary
12	10	8
Highest parental Education level		
Degree	School qualification	
17	13	
Employment level		
At least one parent in professional work	At least one parent in skilled/semi-skilled work	Parent(s) in unskilled work only
6	19	5
Age of older parent		
Over 35	35 and under	
15	15	
Age of oldest child		
Pre-school	Primary school	High school / FE college
13	7	10
Family stage at migration		
Parents migrated before having children	Migrated with children**	
10	20	

* see Appendix B for details of ESOL assessment levels used

** Including families in which the father worked in the UK alone prior to the family joining him

Figure 3.1 Poland showing respondents' home locations prior to migration.



As can be seen from the map in figure 3.1, respondent families in my study migrated from regions across Poland, with a few families coming from each of the rural areas in the North West, South East and West of Poland and three families from Krakow and Warsaw. Half of the group however migrated from industrial cities in Central and South West Poland: Wrocław, Poznań, Łódź and the Upper Silesian industrial region around Katowice. The predominance of families from these areas seems surprising given that higher unemployment levels were recorded in rural areas with small towns in the East of Poland, where the population had experienced particular economic hardship after the communist co-operative farming system ended. Previous studies of post-accession migration from Poland have highlighted how different regions are associated with different histories and cultures of migration (Elrick and Brinkmeier, 2009; White, 2009b). While in previous decades long term migration to the US had occurred from localities in the East of Poland, from areas in the West of Poland, geographically nearer Germany, irregular short term, circular migration to Germany had been more typical. White suggests that migrants from Western Poland

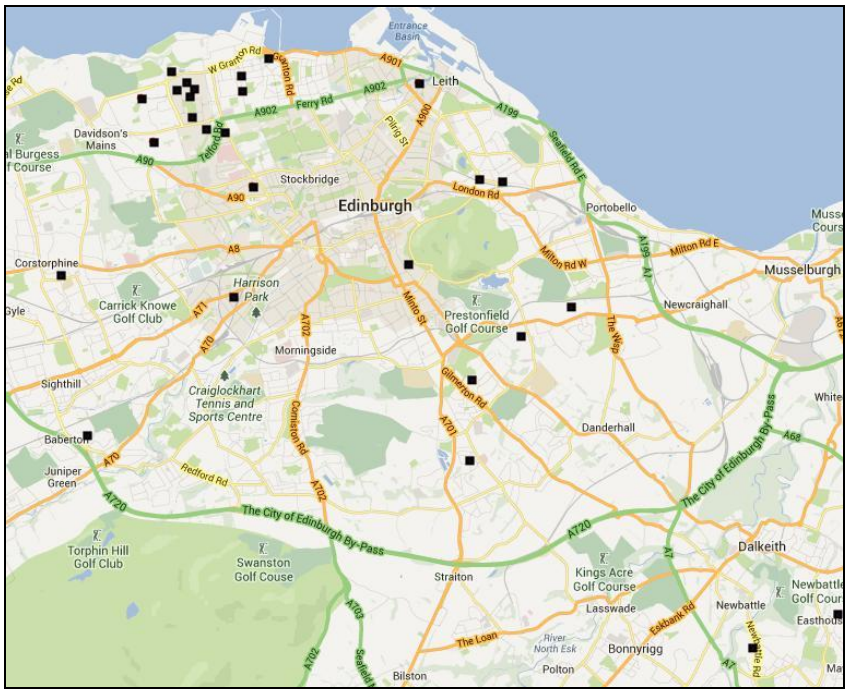
after 2004 were more autonomous and less dependent on networks in migration (White, 2011b pp16-17).

The predominance of families from the relatively affluent areas in Poland in my respondent group could potentially stem from the timing of my study - later than the two other studies, and a longer time after the beginning of the migration wave in 2004 - and from its location in Edinburgh. I propose here one possible explanation relating to differences in lifestyles and economies and historic migration between the regions of Poland. While the more affluent areas typically have lower unemployment levels than the rural areas in East Poland, in these regions large-scale industry, relating, for example, to coal in the Katowice area and textiles in Łódź, closed down during the post-communist period, resulting in significant unemployment. This meant that, while life was not so extremely problematic for families in these ex-industrial cities and towns as the poorer rural areas, it became considerably harder.

The highest levels of initial migration to the UK after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 came from the areas more accustomed to long-term migration and suffering the worst hardship, the rural areas in Eastern Poland; in these regions, many families, as Anne White describes, adopted a 'livelihood strategy' in which one parent migrated, leaving the other parent and children behind (White, 2009a). Migration also took place from central and Western Poland, but this was driven less by extreme financial hardship and may as a result have consisted more typically of young single migrants. However, in the years following 2004, the return of single migrants, both for visits and permanently, resulted in dissemination of information about the realities and potential of life in the UK, and migrants who remained in the UK could assist new migrants on arrival. Families from these ex-industrial areas, experiencing reduced quality of life, but with increased confidence from knowledge of what would be available to them in the UK and contacts there, then began to migrate in increasing numbers and these families constitute the majority of my respondent group, often migrating together as whole families two or three years after Polish accession.

A further possible explanation might stem from networks formed between individual sending and receiving locations; since most migrants usually migrate to join personal contacts in a receiving location, this process may, over time, link two regions to a significant extent; from my small sample a tentative suggestion could be made that such a link exists between Edinburgh and these Western Poland ex-industrial regions.

Figure 3.2 Edinburgh showing respondents' housing locations



Within my study group, in contrast with these whole families, those who initially migrated without children came from more diverse regions of Poland. These included the younger parents in my group, who migrated before having children, of whom among my group, five couples migrated first to London, and also some fathers, who initially migrated alone, leaving families behind, and were later joined by mothers and children, in a similar way to families described in White's study.

The respondent group families were dispersed across neighbourhoods of Edinburgh, as shown in Figure 3.2, but with a disproportionate number (ten families, constituting a third of the group) living in the Pilton-Muirhouse area, a suburb consisting largely of social housing where many Polish migrants have settled. A few parents living in

this area worked for the same companies and hotels and some knew each other. While the similarities and interconnectedness between these families might be considered a weakness of the selection process and to restrict the breadth of experience collected, the accounts, experiences and plans described by these respondents differed substantially (see Chapter 5). During data analysis, this 'cluster' emerged as an interesting aspect of the group, in that it allowed for the type of analysis described by Mill's 'method of minimum difference' (Mill, 1882): among respondents who differ on only a few characteristics (or in the ideal case, only one), it is easier to identify how differences in these characteristics relate to differences in outcomes than it would be from a group with variation over a wider range of variables. A further advantage of the inclusion of these inter-linked families was that it assisted in providing an understanding of the relevance of and the mechanisms at work within these kinds of social networks. Such small social clusters are quite different from what would usually be implied by membership of 'the Polish community'. Within such networks, however, children formed friendships and parents assisted each other with employment, housing and other issues; speaking with more than one family within the network enabled better understanding of these processes.

In contrast to this clustering, there were several individual families in the study who differed widely on particular characteristics, with some outliers in terms, for example, of income, employment type, housing location and children's age. Diversity had been the original aim of the selection process and an advantage of the inclusion of a few people representative of extremes is first, that a wide range of accounts and experiences are collected, but second, in common with Mill's 'method of agreement', that studying cases who only share a few common characteristics assists in identifying which of the shared characteristics are most likely to relate to common outcomes (*ibid.)*

Five couples interviewed were subsequently found to fall outside the definition set for the research population, each on one relevant characteristic. It was decided to fully include all but one of these couples in the study. One father was second

generation Polish; one couple were only expecting their first child at the time of the first interview; one lesbian couple were interviewed, but were excluded from data analysis as they did not have children. Finally, at least two parents had arrived prior to 2004. Respondents were sometimes unclear in their accounts about their arrival date, perhaps from a reluctance to state that they had worked in the UK illegally, so it was hard to be precise about how many arrived before 2004, but from their accounts all parents arrived in or after 2003.

That these parents fell outside the research population as defined reduced the number of respondents within the research population as originally conceived. But, as has been observed by other researchers, (including Anne White informally in conversation), including outsiders who stand in some relation to the research population can be illuminating in that their accounts and attitudes can highlight aspects relevant to, but not apparent from the accounts of, those within the research population. Foucault provides an extreme example of the deliberate adoption of this method in utilising his study of inmates of mental institutions to throw light on society as a whole (Foucault, 1989). In my study, the second-generation Polish father, for example, expressed strong, well-informed opinions about the Polish migrant experience, about relationships among Polish migrants and those between Polish migrants and locals. While sharing the attitudes of several other respondents, having native English language he was able to express his attitudes with local nuances and this helped with my understanding of the accounts from other respondents. The couple who were expecting their first baby at the first interview, and the Lesbian couple who were interviewed, described their experiences and attitudes as couples without children, highlighting those experiences shared by all couples. The couple expecting their first baby described their plans and expectations of parenthood in Edinburgh before experiencing it, and so ‘from the outside’, while the Lesbian couple highlighted the substantial differences in social attitudes and behaviours between Poland and the UK to non-traditional family structures. Those who had arrived just before 2004 provided cases for examining how length of time in the UK influences attitudes, behaviours and plans.

Fieldwork issues

Groundwork

Before embarking on the interviews, I arranged meetings with representatives of organisations and individuals involved with Polish migration to gather information useful to the study design. These included a Polish family in Glasgow, a Polish Catholic priest, a Cultural Affairs expert at the Polish Consulate, a migrant health researcher at the Department of Public Health in the NHS in Scotland, and two ESOL teachers. Some of these contacts also helped me access interviewees, as did also an English teacher at a Polish Saturday school, two community workers, a Polish language teacher and several informal contacts.

The first three interviews were planned as pilot interviews. Respondents were asked to provide verbal feedback while completing the questionnaire and to comment on the content of the interview overall. Questions which were misunderstood or unclear, or identified as leading or not sufficiently open-ended to encourage free and full responses were subsequently re-worded. Since changes to the interviews were minimal and the interviews collected interesting data, these pilot interviews were included in the project, despite the process and questions at first interview differing slightly from the rest.

Accessing families

Information sheets about the study in Polish asking for participants (see Appendix A) were distributed personally and through contacts. Whilst these may have added to participants' understanding of the study, no respondents volunteered purely as a result of receiving one. Instead, all respondents were recruited through personal contact, some via an intermediary, but most by being asked to participate face-to-face. The most successful access method was found to be for someone known to the respondents to approach parents and introduce me to them at a familiar location such as a school, club or church.

The number of interviews was set with the aim of maximising the number of families, and range of characteristics, within time and cost limitations. While on some topics it was felt that 'saturation' was achieved in interview responses, on others it was considered that a bigger sample would have been advantageous. In particular highly-skilled professional migrants were not well represented. Interpreters' payments were funded from the ESRC Research and Training Grant. The group size of thirty families was arrived at from an estimate of the total time involved in accessing respondents, carrying out and transcribing two rounds of interviews, based on the assumption that roughly a third would require an interpreter (this was a slight underestimate).

Respondents were offered a choice over interview location. Most interviewees chose interviews in their homes, but a few interviews took place in cafes and at the university. Interviews were recorded and all English conversation was transcribed. Ideally Polish responses would have also been transcribed, but given limited research funds, Polish transcription was limited to quotations selected for analysis.

Shortly after each interview, I noted down my main impressions from the interview. These notes were imported to Nvivo along with the interview transcripts. While they were not coded, they were useful for providing a quick overview of the family and the interview context during analysis.

Interpreting and language

Respondents were asked whether they would like an interpreter to be present, and eight families requested this for the first interview. Two interpreters, both Polish-born students at the University of Edinburgh, assisted with interviews and with translating documents and letters. Interpreters were asked not to translate respondents' answers verbatim, but instead to summarise them in their own words at natural breaks or intermittently, if responses were long. This approach generated free-flowing natural answers but had the disadvantage that no transcript was

produced of a precise translation of respondents' own words for use in analysis and writing-up. To alleviate this, I employed another Polish student to transcribe and translate sections of interviews identified as particularly relevant during analysis.

At four further first interviews interviewees did not request an interpreter, but volunteered a friend or family-member to interpret instead. In two of these the interpreter engaged with the respondent(s) in dialogue about the topics, adding interesting collaborative material. In the other two the interpreters inadvertently discouraged full replies and sometimes only partially translated replies, so that poorer interviews and data resulted. For three of these families, with the respondent couples' agreement, a student interpreter attended the second interview, improving outcomes.

Respondent self-assessment over the need for an interpreter created difficulties in some instances. At two interviews without an interpreter communication was difficult and conversation stilted. I decided against suggesting an interpreter for second interviews in these cases, as it was clear that these respondents valued the opportunity to use their English, and I felt the suggestion might be seen as a negative assessment of their skills and a discouragement. The reverse situation occurred in one interview where a mother requested an interpreter despite apparently having fluent English. She agreed to a second interview without an interpreter. These two situations highlighted the importance of confidence in communication, which appeared to influence individuals' lives and integration experiences significantly.

I also studied Polish language over the three years and despite only attaining an elementary level, my efforts to use it were very warmly and supportively received by respondents and sometimes helped to break the ice at the beginning of an interview.

Questionnaires were issued in Polish, and as discussed above, these sometimes provided a way of checking meanings that were unclear from interviews. Understanding and interpreting conversational interviews, however, goes beyond levels of meaning that can be measured using discrete variables, and importantly

entails understanding implications and nuances of language and non-verbal communication of feelings and emotions. Even interviewing in a joint first language can be problematic; Temple and Koterba (2009) highlight how the Polish language is used differently by post-war and more recent migrants to the UK, and the implications of perceptions of 'new' Polish migrants by 'old' migrants who were interviewers in their study. While my interpreters were both relatively 'new' Polish migrants themselves (although predating post-accession migration), they are likely to have interpreted respondents' accounts, to some extent, through the lens of their own migration experience. That an interpreter cannot be neutral and stand outside or in a 'space between' the other participants, is emphasised by Baker who argues that the translator should be seen as situated within the narrative they recount:

> [N]o one, translators included, can stand outside or between narratives. Hence, a politically attuned account of the role of translation and translators would not place [them] either outside nor in between cultures. It would locate them at the heart of interaction, in the narratives that shape their own lives as well as the lives of those for whom and between whom they translate and interpret.' (Baker, 2006 p12)

While across this study inherent communication weaknesses of this kind could be identified at the point of communication between myself and respondents, it is worth noting that as a native British researcher I am likely to have fewer problems at the point of communicating my research findings to a British English-speaking audience, than would a researcher who shared native language and cultural understanding with migrant respondents. The issue of communication and interpretation across a language divide is unavoidable at one point or the other in a migrant study.

A further limitation arising from my elementary Polish language skills was that I could not engage substantially with academic literature in Polish; as a result, Polish-language articles are only referenced when they have been cited in English publications.

My position as British was judged to result in some gains, including an enthusiasm evident among respondents to communicate their experiences directly to a 'local'

researcher, and the fact that the presence of the interpreters in practice generated a very positive and relaxed group atmosphere, conducive to good discussion.

In the course of fieldwork and analysis, the inclusion in the group of some respondents with fluent English was found to be beneficial to understanding the responses of those with poorer English. Analysing answers relating to a particular issue across the whole respondent group assisted both in understanding the issue as a whole and in making sense of nuances and translation issues within individual responses. Language issues also influenced choices over methods of analysis (see below).

Interview content

Interview topics in the first round of interviews were generated from the research questions and were:

- Migration and the reasons for migration
- Work in Poland and Scotland
- Children, including child-care and school
- Extended family
- Integration
- Differences between Polish and Scottish society and lifestyle
- Attitudes to future migration.

Questions were phrased to be open-ended, in order to encourage full and discursive replies (see Appendix A for interview schedules). Across interviews, questions on each topic were not always identically phrased or presented in the same order. Instead interviews were allowed to proceed in the order naturally generated by respondents' answers to an initial question asking them to describe their experience of migration to Edinburgh. The aim of this question was to generate a narrative of

respondents' experiences with minimum interruption or prompting. When there was a natural pause, I scanned the interview schedule for the next topic not yet covered.

The second round interviews were designed:

- To follow up changes over the topics covered in the first interviews relating to life in Scotland and future plans
- To ask any questions omitted from the first interview
- To ask about new issues identified as interesting or important from analysis of the first round of interviews. These included for example, factual questions about housing and education in Poland, and attitudinal questions such as 'Do you feel at home?' (see Chapter 8).
- To discuss respondents' attitudes and plans in more depth.

The second interview schedule also revisited the topics from the first interview, omitting experiences relating to initial migration. Interviews again began with an open question asking how respondents' lives had changed over the year, similarly intended to generate a narrative account and often in practice rendering the need for questions on individual topics unnecessary.

Having developed a relationship with respondents, second interviews were usually more relaxed and I contributed more of my own personal input to encourage discussion. While giving my own opinions could be seen as undermining comparability and influencing responses, my priority was generating a setting for in-depth discussion of topics, which would be undermined by lack of personal response from me to respondents' answers, or by a rigid adherence to standard questions (Oakley, 2003 (original, 1981); Ritchie and Lewis, 2003)

Respondents' comments on the interview questions highlighted some incorrect assumptions made during the design process and provided interesting material for further analysis. For example, questions relating to child-care preferences raised a number of issues which challenged my original understandings and expectations and

altered the focus of data-collection in the second round of interviews. One aspect of this was that interviewees' responses highlighted differences in perception of the needs of children under the age of three and older preschool children; parents' comments suggested that their views reflected Polish norms and policy (see Chapter 6). Another issue arose from my introduction of the phrase 'your ideal family' (see Questionnaire 1, Question 4, Appendix A), to a question about preferences for gender-division of work and care between partners. Responses to this question appeared contradictory. Analysis of the results highlighted two problems: the first was that the phrase was being interpreted in different ways, with interpretations including:

- The ideal for your family now, in Edinburgh, with your children at the age they are.
- The ideal for you, once you are established in Edinburgh and your children reach an age which allows you to do the work you would like to do.
- The ideal for a family in the abstract, regardless of migration and settlement.

These different possible interpretations reflect complexities about attitudes in relation to preferences in work and child-care, an area in which peoples' theoretical ideals do not always match their real world choices, and where preferences change as children grow older, and in the context of changing work opportunities, over the post-migration settlement process and as a result of other societal factors.

A second likely cause of contradictory responses to this question is that it generates a 'political correctness bias' (Hakim, 2003). Several respondents stated a preference for equal division of work and childcare in the questionnaire while also describing real life choices apparently based on the preference for men to be the main earners and women the main care-providers. As Hakim suggests this discrepancy is likely to stem from strong social acceptance of 'gender equality' as politically correct and desirable. Hakim observed a strong bias of this kind in her analysis of Spanish responses to a similar question, and noted a similar but weaker bias in British responses. She recommends as a result that references to equality should be avoided

when posing questions of this kind (Hakim, 2003 p66). However, having retained the word 'equality' in my questionnaire, its presence serves to test and demonstrate the existence and strength of the 'political-correctness bias' towards 'equality' across this respondent group, while also allowing respondents who are susceptible to this bias to be distinguished from a minority who are not. The strength of the bias across this group can perhaps be related to Polish norms stemming from Poland's communist history, in which the achievement of gender-equality was an important focus (see Chapters 1 and 6). A benefit of combining interviews and questionnaires is that discrepancies between questionnaire and interview responses can be identified. The existence of this bias however undermined the usefulness of this question as a validity-check on interview responses in relation to lifestyle preferences.

Ethical and personal concerns

Ethical concerns raised by this study largely relate to my obligations to respondents and the effects of the research process on them. I also have a responsibility to the ESRC and to the University of Edinburgh, to make full and ethical use of the material collected. The ESRC require that data collected in the study be available to other academic researchers at the completion of the project; before doing, this data will be anonymised, as agreed with respondents. In all written output pseudonyms will be substituted for respondents' names, and details enabling personal identification, as far as possible, omitted.

I share with respondents the experience of being a parent and I also have a limited personal experience of family migration, having moved from London to Edinburgh with pre-school age children. But being British, with English as my first language and having been familiar with British institutions and customs prior to this move, my experience of arrival in Edinburgh involved few of the obstacles Polish families encounter. This raises an ethical question concerning the legitimacy of my position in researching Polish families as an 'outsider', something a Polish migrant and native speaker might be better placed to do in several respects. However, little in-depth

research with Polish migrants has been carried out in Scotland and studies of Polish families have been limited to a few regions of the UK - notably by White and Heath *et al.* (Heath *et al.*, 2011; White, 2011b). As a student already established within the Migration and Citizenship research network at the University of Edinburgh, I felt that I was well positioned both to seek funding for such a project and to communicate my findings to the academic and wider British community. My research output is presented from the perspective of a native-born long-standing British resident, and as such will offer a different perspective from that offered by Polish researchers. My design choices, as described above, are made with a view to prioritising respondents' concerns in order to transmit them as faithfully as possible to local audiences.

Although, due to the cost of translation, it is not possible to publish my findings in Polish, I hoped at the outset to share my findings with respondents. During the second round of interviews I gave respondents copies of a report summarising data from the first round and asked them to send me their thoughts about it, but disappointingly I received no feedback. I will notify those respondents who have expressed an interest in my thesis when it is published.

As described above, respondents were given a project information sheet in advance of interviews. I prepared a consent form for the first round of interviews, which was presented to respondents in Polish and required both respondents' and my own signature; I retained one copy and gave the other to respondents. On this form I committed to ensure data confidentiality and anonymising output as far as possible, and they agreed to be recorded and to the inclusion of their input in my thesis. Respondents were made aware that they were free to refuse to answer any question or end the interview at any stage. A few respondents deferred from answering individual questions and some terminated interviews early due to time pressures. (see Appendix A for documents used)

Despite having given participants information about the project and discussed it with them, on several occasions during interviews I felt that there was some degree of misunderstanding about my role or the project's purpose. Some respondents were

very keen to describe for example, experiences of unfair treatment by employers, with the unspoken implication that I might be instrumental in addressing these. Other participants seemed to expect a more substantial continued relationship than I was able to offer (for some, I was the first British person they had conversed with at any length). When possible I researched information to answer queries respondents raised about life in Scotland, providing information for example on schools, business start-ups and driving tests.

Problems faced by respondents raised a further issue for me. I felt that their communication of problems relating directly to social policy implicitly places a responsibility on me to disseminate information about these problems accurately and sensitively. Practical problems with employment and housing were not the overt focus of my research, and so lengthy discussion of them is beyond the remit of the PhD thesis, but nevertheless I have an obligation to transmit this information to a wider and relevant audience, particularly where perceptions among the public and media about migrants are incorrect or biased and I hope to do this alongside writing this thesis. Some issues which could potentially be addressed through social policy and merit further research are highlighted in Chapter 9.

A further ethical issue concerned decisions over use of information gained on occasions when I met respondents outside of the interview setting. I decided against doing this, but nevertheless gained insights useful to analysis from the several informal social contexts where I met family members.

Ethical concerns also arise in writing up and disseminating research findings, where behaviours described by respondents could be construed negatively by the media or a wider audience. An example is entitlement and access to benefits and social housing, which were presented by several respondents as factors influencing their attitudes to migration and future plans. Since income and housing are major constituents of quality of life, that state provision of these plays a part in migrant decisions is hardly surprising. In research output, however, it is important to provide a balanced account of these findings, presenting them in conjunction with other relevant factors, to

reduce the likelihood that results are interpreted as evidence of 'benefit tourism', potentially feeding the rise in anti-immigrant sentiment in Britain in recent years, evidenced in media reports of racist attacks in Scotland (STV, 2011), and across the UK in the increasing popularity of the British National Party (Ford and Goodwin, 2010) and the UK Independence Party (Ford *et al.*, 2011). Several respondents expressly distinguished themselves in interviews from other Polish migrants who they perceive as making unethical use the British benefit system, emphasising in contrast their own work commitment and lack of recourse to state funds.

On a few occasions interview questions seemed to probe into sensitive areas of respondents' lives, for example loss of a job or how living costs were met from what appeared from a respondent's account to be insufficient income. Further discomfort in interviews arose in some cases at follow-up interviews when hopes of employment expressed at the first interview had not materialised, making it seem tactless to probe further. Thomson and Holland comment on this problem:

> We allow them to talk and record their thoughts and feelings. And then we meet them again and ask for an update. They know we have a recording of what they said last time. For those whose lives remain on course this, I suspect, is a very gratifying and confirming experience; for those whose lives don't turn out quite as planned this may not be such a great experience. (Thomson and Holland, 2003 p242)

In such circumstances, when unsure about causing offense, I erred on the side of omitting questions, where possible trying to approach the issues from a different angle within less sensitive contexts later in the interview. Unexplained financial circumstances were not explored, as this was seen as beyond the remit of the research, as well as risking damaging trust.

Methods of analysis

Using a 'mixed methods' design

Two elements of the study design incorporate an approach that might be described as 'mixing methods': first, in data-collection, the use of semi-structured interviews in conjunction with questionnaires; second, in analysis of the data, the combination of an interpretative approach, involving thematic coding of interview transcripts with a more structured approach, dividing families according to characteristic and attitudinal variables in order to look for similarities and differences across the whole group using 'Qualitative Comparative Analysis' (QCA) (Ragin, 1987).

Despite making use of these different methods in both data collection and analysis, the study does not attempt to employ 'mixed methods', in its usual sense of combining quantitative and qualitative analysis, but is firmly placed within the qualitative analysis paradigm. The study did not involve either large-scale data collection or quantitative analysis, that is, statistical analyses of relationships between large numbers of cases. The aim of analysis is not to demonstrate statistical significance of findings, but to explore patterns, connections and differences across the range of families, in order to generate an understanding of the processes and structures at work across the group. Observed patterns and processes are very likely to be replicated to some extent for other Polish families in Edinburgh, for other A8 families, for particularly those living in urban areas across the UK, and for migrant families in other locations. Proving the statistical likelihood of observed patterns existing in any wider group is not, however, the aim of a study with a small number of cases such as this, which generates its findings instead from in-depth qualitative analysis, and makes no claim to have accessed a genuinely representative sample even of the research population of post-accession Polish families in Edinburgh.

Mixing methods, as Hammersley (2008) discusses, can lay researchers open to the criticism that they are attempting to make use of methods which rely on incompatible

ontological assumptions about the data collected. Quantitative analysis, and other more structured forms of analysis of discrete-value variables, more often take as implicit a positivist stance, concerned with finding out the 'truth' about the data, while an interpretative analysis of rich text interview transcripts is more commonly associated with a constructivist approach, which does not assume the existence of a single truth, but rather that many different accounts and perceptions of the world provide different 'truths' and indeed that the researcher's own position forms part of the truth that is related in the analysis. I argue, along with Hammersley, that rigidly linking research methods with ontological assumptions in this way is unjustified, and that collecting data in different forms and through different methods may be undertaken without any extreme assumptions of either positivist or constructivist nature.

I make use of data from questionnaires in conjunction with data from semi-structured interviews, taking these sources as providing evidence of different kinds. While I need to take into account different underlying concerns about validity associated with each type of data, both forms of data-collection allow respondents to communicate their experiences and attitudes, and both are useful in assessing how respondents stand in relation to each other, in developing an understanding of their experiences and in making assessments of and predictions from them.

Analysis of interview transcripts requires an awareness of issues relating to communication, particularly where interviewer and interviewee differ in their first languages, as well as of the relationship between myself as researcher in the various subject-positions I occupy, for example as a British researcher, a PhD student, a mother, a resident of Edinburgh, and the subject positions occupied by the respondents, as recent Polish migrants, parents, 'subjects of study', and holders of different societal positions and employment-statuses, both in Edinburgh and in Poland prior to migration. In analysing the results of questionnaires, however, different considerations come to the fore (while many of the same considerations continue to apply). For example, concerns about whether structured formats such as a Likert-scale and tick-boxes are interpreted in the same way across respondents and

by myself, whether question wording is interpreted as intended, or holds different nuances after translation or to respondents in different situations, and whether the questionnaire design allows respondents to choose options that they feel express what they have to say. Thus, the ways in which data from questionnaires may fail in validity or reliability differ from those relevant to qualitative interviewing.

While the form of data collected differs, combining the two methods enables a variety of illuminating methods of analysis to be adopted. Comparisons can be made within a family between the two forms of data, and when contradictions are generated, they may be explored, resolved or sometimes left unresolved and these contradictions often provide insights, as discussed above. Qualitative in-depth data from individual cases can be grouped using discrete-variables relating to family characteristics or attitudinal variables, and compared across the whole group. Discrete variables can be used to provide a high-level analysis of trends across the group, which can then be explored further through in-depth analysis of the qualitative data. All of these approaches were employed in analysis in this project.

Approaches to Analysis combining thematic coding and tabular data

The primary form of analysis employed was qualitative thematic analysis of interview transcripts. This was carried out in two stages, the first taking place in the six months between rounds of interviews and the second, encompassing both sets of interviews, after the second round. Key themes were initially derived from the research questions, but were modified throughout the coding process. Methods for identifying themes were varied, and included, as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003), repetition of words and phrases and uses that are unfamiliar, as well as comparisons across interviews, particularly where accounts shared similarities or showed extreme contrasts.

In analysis of transcripts, it was necessary to take into account that in all interviews respondents were either using a language that was not their first language, or

transcripts consisted of loose translations. This meant that in-depth analysis of language-use was not appropriate.

Characteristics of families and questionnaire responses were recorded in discrete variable format in Excel and then imported to Nvivo for use in conjunction with textual analysis of transcripts. This enabled sections of transcripts coded according to particular themes to be accessed selectively according to questionnaire responses or family characteristics, such as parental employment type or age of children. Data was divided up in different ways to assist comparisons of responses relating to each topic, across families and also across time for each family.

Qualitative Comparative Analysis

In analysis of the data, as described in detail in Chapter 4, I divided the families into three groups to reflect clusters of families of distinct types apparent in the group. I wanted to support this grouping of the data with a structured analytical approach, rather than simply relying on my general impressions from interviews. In order to search for naturally occurring clusters in the data, I made use of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), an approach developed by Ragin (1987) which groups cases according to combinations of characteristics, and identifies logical relationships between case characteristics and 'outcomes' for individual cases using Boolean algebra. While Ragin's applications of the technique are primarily to macro sociological entities (societies, welfare states and institutions), the method has more recently been applied by several researchers at the micro level, to individuals (Glaesser *et al.*, 2009; Rantala and Hellström, 2001; Sigal, 2007).

Using this technique, case characteristics that are likely to be linked to outcomes are identified from an analysis of the data in conjunction with relevant theoretical contributions and previous research findings. Each characteristic variable is then converted to binary form (i.e. variables taking the values zero or one). In this project, 'outputs' relate to family lifestyle in Edinburgh and parents' attitudes and plans for the future (e.g. 'uses qualifications and skills in employment', 'expects to be in the

UK in 5 years'), while input variables are parental or family characteristics identified as likely to be related to outputs (e.g. 'parents migrated before having children', 'parents over age 35'). A 'truth table' of all possible combinations of the selected input and output characteristics is then created. Threshold values (between 0 and 1) are determined for each variable from an investigation of the data. Boolean algebra is then used to identify logical relationships between the different combinations of values of characteristics and outcomes across all cases.

As an example, applying this technique to the family dataset in this study, I looked at the relationship between the two input variables, parental English language skill and qualification level, and an output variable indicating that the main earner in the family has 'deskilled' in his/her current employment (see Chapter 4 and Appendix B for further details of variable definition). From a truth table such as table 3.7 below, we can identify, first which combinations of values of characteristic variables exist within the dataset and which do not, and investigate potential reasons for this. Missing combinations may result simply from the small size of the selected sample or from a biased selection process, or explanations for missing combinations may be identified from historical or theoretical considerations or respondents' accounts. In the example above, there are no families in which one partner in the family has advanced English but neither partner is a graduate (i.e. the combination '1,0'); this finding is explored in Chapter 4.

Table 3.7 English level, qualifications and primary skill use in employment the UK

Row No.	At least one partner has advanced level English	At least one partner is a graduate	Main earner(s) use(s) skills from Poland in current work	Frequency
1.	0	0	0	9
2.	0	0	1	3
3.	0	1	0	6
4.	1	1	0	7
5.	1	1	1	5

We can then proceed to examine how outcomes relate to the existing combinations of characteristics. From table 3.7 we could identify, for example, that none of the main

earners in families where neither partner has advanced English, but at least one partner is a graduate, (with values, '0,1' in the first two columns) is using their primary skills from Poland in their current work (again, see Chapter 4 for discussion).

In many cases of real world data such truth tables produce ambiguous results, with one combination of input variables frequently associated with varied outcomes (as rows 1 & 2 and 4 & 5 in table 3.7). Often, however, one outcome is much more commonly observed than the other. In table 3.7 for example, row 1 with nine entries appears to contain the more common outcome than row 2 with only three cases. How we deal with the minority cases is determined by the purpose of the analysis, and researchers using QCA on datasets relating to individuals have adopted different approaches. Ragin himself advocated using a thorough exploration of the individual cases to redefine characteristic variable definitions or threshold values, so that the divergent cases can be incorporated into the most appropriate rows. In this way a simpler table can be generated, with single outcomes for each combination of characteristics, although variable and threshold definitions become more complex.

This adjustment or tuning of variables might at first appear to be 'fixing' the data, thus undermining validity of results, but since the purpose of the analysis is to generate an accurate logical description of the respondent group, refining a variable definition to enable logical statements to be made about the data is perfectly legitimate. Of course, no statistical significance can then be attributed to the fact that all cases fit into distinct combinations of input and output variables. This approach also means that a variable may legitimately be defined differently in relation to separate analyses looking at different outcomes. For example, in setting the threshold for a 'parental language skill' binary variable, a focus on an outcome of 'professional employment' might lead to setting a threshold between advanced English and other levels, since professional work might require fluent English communication, while in relation to an output variable of 'manages daily life without assistance', the threshold might more illuminatingly be set between elementary and intermediate/advanced

skill levels, since intermediate English would be sufficient for independently carrying out every day communications, while elementary English might not.

Where individual cases fail to 'fit' common trends, Rantala and Hellström in their analysis, redefine and adjust their characteristic variables. Ragin's recommendation is to do this until a complete fit is generated, but they focus instead on the value of the process of examination of these variables itself and the fuller understanding that is generated by this process of the relationships between individual cases and the identified categories. Rantala and Hellström, and Ragin both stress that this exploration of individual cases and redefinition of thresholds and variables requires the researcher to be familiar with the details of each individual case.

Glaesser *et al.*, in a study involving a much larger dataset than that used by Rantala and Hellström, adopt an approach which measures the scale of less frequented rows (Glaesser *et al.*, 2009), but emphasise similarly the importance of understanding how individual cases are allocated to rows and the implications of the adopted method of allocation for overall findings (Cooper and Glaesser, 2011). They also discuss use of 'Fuzzy-set' QCA (Ragin, 2008), a more complex version of QCA which allows variables to be allocated a greater range of values than one and zero, for which specialised QCA software can be utilised. However, allocations of cases into rows using Fuzzy-set QCA software is not a transparent process, and Glaesser *et al.* caution against making use of it without careful analysis of the processes at work. The original 'crisp-set' QCA (using binary variables) combined with exploration of individual cases in contrast enables a clear and explicit understanding of the processes in allocation of individual cases to rows. To enable a clear and thorough exploration of the data, and using a small data-set, I apply the original crisp-set version of QCA in my analysis. Following Rantala and Hellström I focus on investigating individual cases fully, identifying why some cases fail to follow common trends and exploring how setting different thresholds for binary-variable values generates different potential groupings within the dataset. I limit use of the QCA software, Tosmana (Cronqvist, 2011), to the generation of truth tables, and

carry out all further analysis manually, since the process of analysis enables better understanding of the data which would be obscured by reliance on QCA software.

The status of claims made from the research findings

With small scale qualitative research it is important to be clear from the outset about the claims that can be made from findings. Any claims made are exploratory and patterns that are found in a small sample lead to ideational, conceptual or theoretical findings rather than statistically significant results. As Ritchie and Lewis explain, in qualitative research extrapolation of findings to the researched population should not be seen as requiring any statistical basis:

> 'it is not the prevalence of particular views or experiences, nor the extent of their location within particular parts of the sample, about which wider inference can be drawn. Rather, it is the content or 'map' of the range of views, experiences, outcomes or other phenomena under study, and the factors and circumstances that shape or influence them, that can be inferred to the researched population' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003 p269)

Applying QCA to a small data set provides a structured account of the findings which contrasts with more usual presentations of qualitative findings, and is used to identify logical connections between characteristics and outcomes for cases within the dataset. Any patterns or groupings identified are not shown to be statistically significant, but, even within a small dataset, patterns and connections that are observed can be shown to conform with theoretical arguments or hypotheses. Whether dealing with a large or small dataset, it is important to distinguish the observation of patterns or groups which are proposed as existent in the real world, independently of the research project (as are the groups identified in my study), from those identified as part of a categorisation process of which the aim is simply to sort data into clearly labelled groups for clarity of referencing or further analysis, and where no discernable patterns are evident in the data itself. This distinction is made in relation to quantitative methods of cluster analysis by Alquist and Breunig (2011),

who label these two processes, 'inferential' and 'denotational' categorisation respectively. 'Inferential' categorisation arises either when the researcher is looking for ideal types in the data which are anticipated from theory, or is looking for patterns in the data in order to generate theory inductively. Cluster analysis which has an 'inferential' categorisation approach is often described as 'uncovering' or 'discovering' clusters in the data. The clusters that are identified by this process are not dependent on the research process, except in the very broad sense that they are those identified within the particular field of interest that provides the focus of research, in my study's case family characteristics and experiences in relation to work and children, integration and future plans, in post-migration family life. The distinction between inferential and denotational categorisation is of a quite different nature from that between the claims that can legitimately be made of small datasets and those that can be made of large ones. It impacts on the kind of claims that can be made about the groups or clusters identified, (i.e. whether they can be claimed to exist independently of the research process), rather than the statistical likelihood of their existence.

In this study I aim to demonstrate that a combination of theoretical discussion (stemming from analysis of historical and cultural processes) and respondents' accounts of their rationales and personal histories can be used to make sense of patterns identified to occur in the small dataset in my study. These patterns and the grouping of the respondent group they lead to, together with explanations for these, suggest, although do not demonstrate in a statistically significant way, that this clustering may be expected to be of relevance across the whole research population of Polish post-accession migrant families in Edinburgh and possibly more widely.

Summary

In this chapter I have described some of the key choices made over methods and design of the study. In order to address the research questions, I adopted a variety of routes to access families, leading to illuminating and varied, although not rigidly

'representative' data. I carried out joint and family interviews, leading to messy and sometimes non-standard data, but data which enabled better understanding of the interactions and roles of different members of families, and included accounts from fathers as well as mothers. Interviewing each family twice enabled development of a better relationship between myself and respondents and provided extra insights into processes of change and the impact of events and change on respondents' attitudes and plans. I aimed at encouraging natural free-flowing interviews, and achieved this in part through not insisting on strict standardisation of process, accepting that any loss of comparability across the data is more than compensated for by gains in good communication and better understanding of the complex decisions and many influences involved in migrant families' lives.

Combining methods has added to my confidence in the findings from the study, as well as to 'analytic density', but resulted also in larger quantities of relatively 'messy' data which requires awareness of assumptions being made in relation to each set of data to be maintained throughout the stages of analysis. The primary method of analysis adopted is thematic coding, identifying shared and contrasting experiences across the group. This process is supported by the use of crisp-set QCA, which provides a background context for understanding differences across the group and for highlighting particular cases which diverge from dominant trends. Exploring these cases assists understanding of how characteristics, opportunities and personalities together influence families' experiences of life in Scotland and their plans for the future.

Chapter 4: Making sense of the data

This chapter presents the respondent group and aims in doing so to 'make sense' at a broad level of the variety of experiences described by the families. While families' individual migration trajectories were diverse, in some aspects of their lives, as would be expected, they share similar experiences. After completing two thirds of the first-round of interviews I began to see patterns emerging. It seemed that there were two or possibly three distinct types of stories being recounted. Although several individual families buck the obvious trends, identifying common patterns helps in understanding how contexts set different possibilities for individual families, influencing their integration experiences, attitudes and future plans. Exploring why some families do not 'fit' more common patterns further assists understanding of the choices open to different kinds of families. As I began to address my research questions through analysis of interview transcripts, coding responses in relation to choices and plans, families again clearly fell into groups and to answer my questions coherently required that I address these groups separately. Other researchers of recent Polish migrant families have also found it important to distinguish between groups: Ryan *et al.* (2009a) distinguish the experiences of those in professional employment from those not, while White (2011b) restricts her study to parents without higher-education, recognising the relevance of this to migration decisions and language and other resources. Cook *et al.* more generally warn against making homogenising assumptions about A8 migrants and highlight the importance of language to work experiences (Cook *et al.*, 2010).

In this chapter I present the observed groups of families in three complementary ways: first by identifying the key factors which seem to distinguish them; second by examining historical contexts to explore the origins of differences between particular types of families; and finally through a systematic analysis of how these differences occur within the study group and how they relate to the daily lives of the members of each family-type, making use of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) (Ragin,

1987). In this process, variables indicating family characteristics are related to their options and experiences in employment and housing. Each of the three groups identified in this chapter in turn provide the focus for the subsequent three chapters, which analyses the respondents' accounts in more depth. In Chapter 8, I return to view the three groups in the context of the whole study sample, utilising the group categorisations in exploring the factors which influence families' future plans in relation to settlement in the UK, return to Poland or onward migration.

The groups described

I begin by outlining key features in 'typical' accounts given by parents within each of the three types of families.

Group 1: Young short-term savers who settled

These couples migrated to the UK before having children, often arriving and working in London shortly after (or for a few, shortly before) 2004. Some migrated independently and met their current partner in the UK. Typically they came just after, or sometimes before, university study in Poland. Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009 p34) identify migration immediately after graduation as typical of the new type of emigrants to the UK after 2004. Very often their intention was to stay for a few months, or a year or two, to save enough money to pay for university courses, for housing or for starting a business in Poland and to return once they had saved sufficient for this project. For the couples in my study things hadn't worked out as they intended. Most found it much harder to save than they had anticipated (see also Friberg (2012)) based on beliefs then prevalent in Poland about the UK emigrant experience. They had worked long hours, often in restaurants or hotels, to earn money for rent and other living costs and for trips back home, but, failing to save as much as they had hoped, they postponed return again and again, until at some point they decided to stay, and then to start a family. Those who migrated to London initially describe moving to Edinburgh, often following a friend who described its

potential to them, for a better lifestyle, as a beautiful city and for the proximity to countryside.

Within the respondent group, these families are relatively young. They all have pre-school age children and typically at least one parent speaks fluent English. Several parents are enrolled in vocational courses and some work in jobs on a related career path. Their study and career plans are often in completely different spheres from their study in Poland. They live in a variety of kinds of areas and locations across Edinburgh, some in social housing, but most in private rentals or owner-occupied flats and houses. They have often spent some time seeking out the best area to live, assessing house-rental or purchase prices or social-housing options.

Group 2. Established family long-term settlers.

The second group forms the largest among the respondents. These are families who came to Britain together with their school-age children, in which parents are usually in their mid 30s or above. In talking about pre-migration experiences, these families describe financial hardship in Poland. Some parents had lost their jobs and had deskilled; others had commuted to work long distances on a weekly or monthly basis, leaving their partners and children at home. Several of those in employment felt that their earnings were insufficient to cover rent and other normal family expenses. Some parents engaged in several jobs concurrently to make ends meet and many describe stressful decisions about choosing priorities in buying food items and children's clothes, and difficulties finding money for children's school books, something grandparents often helped out with. Often families shared households with grandparents, and in some families grandmothers came with the family when they emigrated. Some fathers had worked in the UK alone first for one or two years before mothers and children joined them.

These families' lives in Edinburgh tend to share several common factors. Most of the parents lack strong English skills, and most live in one of the areas of predominantly social housing. Mothers almost invariably work as cleaners, while fathers either work

in unskilled manual labour, as kitchen assistants or in recycling, or make use of secondary skills from Poland, working in construction as joiners or decorators, or as drivers.

A further factor that distinguishes these families from those in Group 1 is families' original motivation and intentions in migration. These families migrated to find a place that could provide a better life for their families and to enhance their children's future opportunities. While within this group several fathers came first, as did Group 1 parents, intending to stay short term, save and return, when their partners and children came to join them, they arrived already considering the possibility of settling for the long term. Those who arrived as whole families also typically intended long term or permanent settlement.

Group 3. New experience seekers and career-builders.

A third, rather less well defined and more diverse type of family is lastly proposed, of which there are fewer members in the study group. Parents in these families migrated neither intending to save money and return, nor because life was financially difficult in Poland, but primarily to further their careers or to experience life and work in another country. Parents in this group speak fluent English and are engaged in professional or skilled employment in Edinburgh which utilises their Polish qualifications or work experience, often having found jobs in the UK prior to migration. This group vary in age and some migrated before having children, others with children. Families live in private rentals or owner-occupied flats.

Identifying distinguishing factors

The above provides a general overview of the three groups of families and I now look in more depth at the distinguishing factors between the groups, identifying key factors which influence the experiences and opportunities open to families. It is important to bear in mind that some of these characteristics can change over time; for

example, migrants' English language level improves, albeit at different rates for different people and in different circumstances.

Motivation for migration

Perhaps the clearest distinguishing defining factors are the original rationale migrants had for leaving Poland and coming to the UK and their intentions in relation to length of stay on arrival. Group 1 parents came intending to stay for a short while, in order to save money for a particular purpose on their return to Poland, also for some, for an adventure particularly if work utilising their degree was not available in Poland. Group 2 parents migrated because of financial hardship in Poland and either firmly intended or entertained the possibility of long term settlement. Group 3 parents migrated primarily to advance their career or for a new life experience. These rationales often also form part of the motivation for parents in the other groups; as White (2009a) also finds, families who migrated with children because of financial pressures may also describe their reasons for migrating in terms of seeking a new experience or adventure. Group 3 are perhaps most easily identified by the motivations they lack: they have not come primarily planning to save money and return, and they did not leave Poland because of financial problems there.

Language

A second distinguishing characteristic between the groups is language. Parents in Groups 1 and 3 typically have intermediate or advanced level English, while Group 2 parents usually arrived with only basic English skills (see Appendix B for discussion of language ability). As discussed in Chapter 2, scholars and policy analysts have identified language as a key factor in integration and settlement experiences, and since language ability differs between the groups, it might be anticipated that group experiences of integration and settlement will vary accordingly. Language ability has clear implications for parents' opportunities in both employment and in forming social relationships.

Family age and stage

A further distinguishing feature is the families' age and 'stage'. Younger parents generally have younger children, so that dividing families according to age of child also roughly divides them by parental age. Parents in Group 1 are typically in their late 20s, and parents in Group 2 in their mid-30s or 40s. Group 3 encompasses a more diverse age range. Two different points in time that are relevant to analysis are family stage at the time of migration, and family stage at the time of the interviews (to which collected data about experiences in Scotland relates). Group 1 parents migrated before starting families, Group 2 with school-age children, while Group 3 vary. Age of children at time of interview influences experiences in terms of child-care needs and employment, particularly for mothers. Families with pre-school children can be divided into two groups: those who arrived before having children and those who brought young children with them. Although at a similar age and family stage at time of interview, these two groups might be anticipated to have different experiences and attitudes.

Deskilling

The groups can also be distinguished by their type of employment in Edinburgh and by whether, and how, they have 'deskilled'. Group 1 parents deskilled to work in unskilled jobs immediately after migration, but by the time of the study are starting on new career areas, either working in employment which forms the first step on a career ladder or enrolling in vocational training, or sometimes managing both of these in conjunction. Few are making use of their Polish qualifications, despite the fact that most are graduates. Group 2 parents are typically in unskilled manual work and have deskilled, a few from professional employment in Poland, but most from skilled or semi-skilled work. Group 3 are distinguished by the fact that they are making use of qualifications and skills gained in Poland in their employment in Edinburgh; they are able to do this through possessing fluent English and possessing skills that are in demand in the UK.

Education

Another factor which relates to the groupings, although in a more complex way, is parents' education level. Identifying level of education was problematic in the study, for a number of reasons. Group 1 consists largely of those who were about to embark on, were in the course of, or who had just finished undergraduate studies, and so cannot be distinguished by level of qualification, but by having followed a school route that led them to anticipate embarking on university study. Group 2 have even more varied educational experiences; while most of the parents in this group took a vocational route through school, some are graduates. Group 3 parents are typically graduates with related professional jobs, but also may encompass some skilled workers who were able to make use of vocational qualifications, for example as chefs or in the construction industry in the UK. Csedo (2008) explores in his study how there is more to being employable in a new country than being 'highly skilled', highlighting the importance both of recognition of qualifications in the receiving country and transferability of skills.

Graduate respondents' degrees encompassed a range of vocationally-oriented subjects including tailoring, tourism and food technology and computer science, as well as the more 'academic', architecture, law, economics and languages. Some respondents who had attended vocational schools in Poland had attained qualifications appropriate to employment with a local industry or employer, but on finishing school, several had decided not to take up this employment.

A further complication with looking at the influence of parental qualifications on families' experiences is that parents in a couple may differ in education level. To simplify structured analysis across families, I use the highest level of education attained by either parent to characterise each family. While this shortcut is necessary for a family-comparative analysis at a general level, in analysis of couples' experiences in greater depth I consider the relevance of each individual partner's education and skills on to the couple's experiences, attitudes and plans.

Looking for historical and biographical explanations

A Comparison with the previous migrant typology

In order to make sense of the identified groups, it is helpful to explore the reasons, historical and personal, why these characteristics form clusters. A starting point for this analysis is to look at the experiences of migrants since their arrival, exploring the trajectories migrants have followed since then.

In Chapter 1, I described the typology of migration strategies proposed by Eade *et al*. (2006) in their study of Polish migrants in London. According to their division, 'storks' were those who migrated to take seasonal or short-term employment, perhaps repeating this migration several times. 'Hamsters' came for a longer period, migrating to save money and return in the short or medium term. Eade *et al.* characterise both of these groups as working in unskilled manual work and involved mainly with Polish networks in the UK. 'Stayers' are those who, having been in the UK a while, have decided on long-term settlement, and 'searchers', who formed the largest group in their study, adopt a strategy of 'intentional unpredictability', intermittently reassessing their options for the future and are characterised as 'young, individualistic and ambitious' (Eade *et al.*, 2006 p11)

Assuming that this typology provides an accurate description of Polish migrants to the UK as a whole at that time, it can be used as a starting point for identifying differences in characteristics of migrants between the two periods, 2004-2007 and 2009-2011, as well as processes of change occurring within the Polish post-accession migrant group over this time span. My study's focus on migrants with families means I cannot attempt to identify all types of Polish migrants in the UK at the time of my study; nevertheless, the trajectories of those migrants who stayed and started families can be traced, and differences in characteristics between the characteristics of earlier migrants and those who have arrived more recently with families can be identified.

'Group 1' parents, as described above, would, according to the Eade typology, have been labelled as 'hamsters' shortly after 2004. While many 'hamsters' returned to Poland as originally planned (Pollard *et al.*, 2008), those included in my study at some point changed their plans and stayed. Within the Eade *et al.* typology, this could be described as changing from hamsters to stayers. Interestingly Eade *et al.* describe those adopting the hamster migration strategy type as 'often embedded in Polish networks', while Group 1 among my respondents seem to be relatively well integrated with local people. This may either be explained by the suggestion that those who integrated most successfully became more likely to stay, or, alternatively that over time in the UK, this group broke out of solely Polish networks and integrated with local people. Group 1 parents describe how their language has improved, and this is likely to have contributed to social integration.

Group 2 among my respondent group, who are older than typical Polish migrants in the post-2004 migration wave, and who often described their original migration intentions as for permanent settlement, are not represented in the Eade analysis. Increased numbers of families arriving or reuniting in the UK since 2004 have been evident, as observed in Chapter 1, from several accounts of Polish migration. This evolution of post-accession migration can be explained from a consideration of families' need for greater certainty about migration prospects than single migrants. Immediately after 2004, emigration to the UK presented an uncertain and insecure prospect for families, but over time, with individual migrants returning and recounting their experiences, families became better informed and able to decide to migrate. For some families, as described above, the father migrated first not intending long term settlement (i.e. as a stork or hamster), but after the mother had visited and seen life in the UK at first hand, they made the decision to relocate the whole family (as described by White, 2011b). Others, constituting an entirely new type, migrated together as whole families.

Group 3 parents, as well as some Group 1 parents in my study share characteristics with the searchers in the Eade *et al.* typology. They are unsure about their future plans, and while some of the searchers in 2004-6 are likely to have either returned,

moved on or become ‘stayers’ by 2009, some continue to maintain the ‘searcher’ strategy. Searchers however are distinguished by their openness about future migration plans, and up to this point I have distinguished families only on their motivations for initial migration and their characteristics and lifestyles in the UK. Chapter 8 will add future plans and expectations into the analysis.

Making use of the earlier typology then, we can see that some of the ‘hamsters’, ‘storks’ and ‘searchers’ identified in the early migrants after 2004 have now become ‘stayers’ and have started families here, forming the majority of my Group 1 families. There are still searchers, and as will be explored in Chapter 8 this uncertainty is most evident among Group 3 families. But there is now a new group, my Group 2, which includes the kind of families described by White (2011b), who came to join fathers as well as families who migrated together. This group typically arrived anticipating the possibility of long term settlement from the outset.

Historical context

As described above, English language ability differs between groups, with older parents in Group 2 having only basic English skills. This is likely to relate partly to their more recent arrival, but if we look beyond families’ migration, to parents’ experiences of growing up in Poland, then another explanation emerges. Parents in this study grew up in Poland during a time of political transition. The end of communism and the subsequent introduction of a capitalist economy occurred over several years after 1989. During the communist period, Russian language teaching in schools was compulsory and English was not widely taught, but during the transition period English and German tuition in schools was introduced as standard. Over this period too, the influence of Western European and American media and arts in Poland increased, along with increased trade and freedom of movement.

Beyond language, the transition from communism to a market economy has also had a major impact on the lifestyle and attitudes of Polish people, resulting in both

positive and negative outcomes for ordinary people, increased insecurity in employment, but a widening of opportunities and choices. The attitudes and behaviours of those growing up and reaching adulthood during this time of transition are likely to have been influenced greatly by this experience (Burrell, 2011).

The lives of Polish parents in my study span this period of transition. The oldest parents, those in their late 40s and early 50s when I interviewed them in 2009, grew up under communism, leaving school in the late 1970s and early 1980s, while the youngest parents, in their early to mid twenties in 2009, were born in the mid-1980s and attended secondary school only after the transition period was well under way. In looking at differences in attitudes and behaviours, it is not possible to disentangle the effects of these developmental experiences from differences resulting purely from age, but we might expect the youngest respondents to be characterised by better English skills, resulting from school English lessons, as well as a more 'European' or global perspective, while the oldest who usually did not receive any formal English language education, are likely to have been influenced in their attitudes by the experience of growing up under a communist regime and living through the transitional period of uncertainty and change as young adults.

Personal trajectories and associated opportunities

Children's presence and age when parents migrate also influence experiences and opportunities in the UK. Group 1 parents, most of whom were single on arrival and usually worked for a period of a few years as waitresses, cleaners or kitchen assistants before accessing employment with more convenient hours and better pay. Although in manual work they often worked alongside other migrants and often other Poles, they needed to call on or develop self-reliance and communicative confidence in order to access and negotiate employment, housing and other practicalities. Many respondents described the obstacles they encountered in finding and engaging in work with poor English skills, with the ever-present pressure to earn money to cover accommodation and living costs. Similar experiences were shared by

those fathers in Group 2 families who came before their families. For these migrants, acquiring English skills quickly to communicate about essentials was a necessity. Most attended English classes and adopted a proactive attitude to language acquisition, deliberately placing themselves in situations which forced them to use and learn English fast.

The experiences of parents migrating together with their children are different. Restaurant work would not allow them to be home with their children in the mornings and evenings, and family demands mean there is less time for attending English classes or socialising; for those with pre-school children, employment must fit in with child-care. Particularly for migrants who lack strong language skills, socialising with people who speak one's first language is easier and more relaxing, but for those arriving with children, the extra pressures generated by family and work add to the relative desirability of socialising only with other Polish migrants. As well as this, information about negotiating the hurdles of establishing the family in the UK can most easily, if perhaps not always most accurately, be accessed from other Polish families who have already negotiated these hurdles.

Lack of language skill also limits employment opportunities to jobs which do not require substantial communication, resulting in migrants working alongside other migrants in manual jobs where there are few opportunities for practising English language. As with the earlier single migrants, it may be only a matter of time before Group 2 parents can progress to preferable jobs, improve their English and integrate with locals, but with the greater financial burdens associated with a family, and care demands of children, the speed of this transition may be slower for those who arrive as whole families. These factors may be perhaps compounded for families in Group 2 by the fact that these parents are older; several respondent parents said they felt they were simply too old to learn English. In Chapter 2, I suggested that perhaps the 'Need for closure' (Kosic *et al.*, 2004) might be greater for older parents, reducing likelihood of outgoing behaviour and integration beyond other Polish migrants.

Parents with children however have alternative routes through which they may form social ties. Activities for parents and pre-school children, such as playgroups and music groups, swimming classes and later primary school, involve participation from parents, and lead to social interactions with both locals and other Polish migrants. Parents in Group 2 however, from their accounts, tend to form social networks only with other Polish parents at the Catholic schools their children attend, since communication with other parents is limited by language. While schools provide interpreters for parent-teacher meetings, this may have the effect of providing a barrier to informal and perhaps more meaningful social interactions between parent and teacher, with such social interaction only occurring between the Polish interpreter and the parent, or interpreter and teacher.

A further difference between earlier and later arrivals is generated by the economic crisis impacting on the UK from 2009. Jobs are scarcer, and in construction in particular it was noted by respondents that although English had not been required in 2004, by 2009 it was necessary for accessing such work. A mother who ran a Polish delicatessen told me that, based on what she heard, she advised those who had arrived recently that unless they learnt English, they would be better to go back to Poland.

Alternative ways of conceptualising the groups

Two alternative factors might be argued to underlie the group distinctions described: first, parents' social class and second, their level of integration. While I do not explicitly utilise these factors in distinguishing the groups, they are implicated in the group distinctions. Discussion and consideration of these two factors assists with understanding the experiences of the different groups.

Social Class

The division described between the groups might be aligned to that between social classes. Among Polish migrants, as other researchers have discussed (Eade *et al.*,

2006; Lopez Rodriguez, 2010), class is difficult to define, relating not only to education level and ancestry in the country of origin but also to wealth, income and social networks in both sending and receiving countries. Migration can result in a repositioning from one social stratum in the country of origin to a different one in the receiving country. This may mean a shift downwards relative to the local population, when migration involves deskilling and lower pay relative to the society one lives in, but it can also mean a move upwards, for example when *not* belonging to the 'right' social set held someone back in their home country and the new host country offers the opportunity of advance without similar obstacles (Eade *et al.*, 2006; Favell, 2008a). This process works in both directions among respondents in my study, with some respondents feeling that their and their children's chances of advancement have been increased while others are frustrated that their Polish skills are non-utilisable in the UK.

It might be argued that the groups I have outlined here largely correlate with parental class-status in Poland, with higher social class characterised by those who acquired professional qualifications, better English language and thus the ability to engage in professional employment in the UK, typical of Group 3 parents. Group 1 parents, similarly come from highly-educated backgrounds, and Group 2 from less educated, poorer contexts. While this explains part of the picture, correlations are complicated by issues relating to language, and by the historical and migration contexts described above. As a result, for migrants who trace atypical paths, opportunities may not be determined by their Polish social class or education level so much as by further complicating circumstances. These include for example: a highly-educated or professional migrant who migrates with little knowledge of English, or a migrant who has only school-level vocational skills but who migrated before having children and has had time to, make contacts, 'get to know the system' and acquire language skills particularly if their vocational skills are utilisable in the UK.

Stages of integration

A further way of distinguishing the groups might be, as Friberg (2012) proposes, to identify families at different stages of the settlement and integration process. Among my diverse respondent group it can be seen however integrating does not occur in the same way or from the same starting point for each group, because of differences in families' characteristics at the time of migration. Friberg's stages of settlement are defined by families' degree of confidence that they will stay, and permanence of employment, but families in my group do not all progress from lack of confidence to greater confidence about staying, having arrived with widely different initial intentions. Group 1 migrants have increased their confidence about settlement over time since migration, but most Group 2 families had already been considering long-term settlement on arrival, while Group 3 families keep their options for the future open over time. On more traditional integration indicators such as employment level and language skill, all families are likely to progress, albeit at very different rates and from different initial levels. The differences between groups reflects, as described in Chapter 2, that integration is not undergone by all migrants evenly over time moving from non-integrated to fully integrated. On the basis of employment level and language, Group 2 families, lacking English and in unskilled work, appear to be the least integrated; Group 1 families, with better language skills, embarking on career paths at an intermediate stage of integration, while Group 3 parents are the most highly integrated, with strong English skills and in professional employment. As discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 however, levels of integration also, paradoxically, correspond with the degree of ease with which migrants can choose to leave the UK, either to return to Poland or to migrate to a third destination, so that for my respondents level of 'integration' does not correspond with likelihood of permanent settlement.

A more rigorous approach to group definition: QCA

So far in this chapter, the basis on which the respondent group has been divided into types of families has been primarily descriptive with characteristics of 'typical' families in each group described imprecisely. In this section however, I adopt a more rigorous approach to grouping the respondent families in the study. While in a small qualitative study statistically significant connections between variables cannot be demonstrated, it is nevertheless possible to look for patterns which recur among the families and characteristics which are associated with 'outcomes' of particular kinds. As has been explored above, because of Polish history and the migration processes for individuals, some combinations of family characteristics are more likely to occur than others. Older Polish migrant parents are less likely to have learned English language in Poland; parents who migrated before having children now all have pre-school age children. These links can be explored in a systematic way by identifying which combinations of values of characteristics exist in the group and which do not, and investigating whether particular combinations are associated with related outcomes in families' lives in Edinburgh.

Identifying groups

Applying QCA, as described in Chapter 3, using the characteristics identified above as important to experiences, allows us to look for natural clusters among the thirty families. For example, using English language level, parental qualification level and family stage at arrival, families can be divided into four groups (where for the variables, 'Advanced English' and 'Degree': '1' represents the situation where at least one parent has the relevant attribute and '0' that where neither has it, and for 'Arrived with Children', '0' is allocated to families in which both parents arrived before having children, and '1' represents families in which at least one parent migrated with a child; see Appendix B for further details of variable values and thresholds):

Table 4.1 Language, qualifications and family stage at migration

Row number	Advanced English (E)	Degree (or studying at university) (D)	Arrived with children (C)	Frequency
1.	1	1	0	9
2.	0	0	1	12
3.	0	1	1	5
4.	0	1	0	1
5.	1	1	1	3

As anticipated from the above discussion, links between these variables mean that only five out of eight possible combinations of these three variables exist. Using binary notation, the combinations of characteristics that are present and not present in the respondent group can be represented as follows:

P = EDc + edC + eDC + eDc + EDC

where P is the set of combinations that exist
E = has advanced English, e = lacks advanced English
D = has a degree, d = no degree
C = migrated with children,
c = migrated before children were born.

Simplifying, using the rules of Boolean algebra (Ragin, 1987 pp 93-95)

P = E(DC + Dc) + eD(C + c) + edC

P = D(E + e) + edC

P = D + edC

That is, the set consists of families with at least one parent who has a degree *and* families in which neither parent has a degree or Advanced English and who arrived with children.

Applying De Morgan's Law (see Ragin, 1987), the missing combinations are given by:

$p = d(E+D+c) = d(E + c)$ where p = missing combinations

That is, there are no families in which one or both parents have advanced English but neither parent has a degree or is working towards one, nor are there any families who arrived before having children in which neither parent has a degree or is working towards one.

Looking at frequencies of occurrence of the different combinations of characteristics in the table, we can see that the two most common groups (constituting rows 1 and 2) consist of families who:

Row 1: Arrived before having children and at least one parent has advanced English and a degree (or is studying towards one).

Row 2: Arrived with children, in which neither parent is a graduate or has advanced English.

Looking at the families in each row in more depth

The rows in this table seem to correspond moderately well with Groups 1 and 2 as previously described, row one corresponding with Group 1 and row two with Group 2.

Looking at the rows in more detail by drawing on interview data, row 1 contains nine families in which parents migrated before having children. In three of these the partners arrived independently, only meeting each other subsequently. Six of these couples did not migrate directly to Edinburgh, with five living and working first in London. At least one partner in each family has advanced English language. In two families, this partner learned English while working in the US before coming to the

UK. One family includes a second-generation Polish father, while in the other six families, parents learned basic English skills at school in Poland and parents' English language improved significantly while living the UK before having children. In all of the families except one, at least one parent graduated in Poland, while in this family the mother is currently enrolled on an Open University (OU) degree course. The families did not however all come to the UK in order to save money and return, with three families fitting better into the Group 3 description on this measure, describing their rationales for migration in terms of seeking adventure and furthering their careers.

The twelve families in row two, who correspond fairly well with Group 2, differ on all of these variables from the families in Row 1. Parents have levels of English varying from elementary to intermediate level; none however have advanced English language as defined. None of the parents are enrolled in vocational courses, although several parents attend daytime or evening ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes, and two fathers have attended English classes at work. All of the mothers and children migrated directly to Edinburgh from Poland, while four of the fathers came earlier, working a year or more in the UK before the rest of the family joined them.

The five families in the third row, who lack advanced English, in which one parent has a degree and who migrated with children, are less clearly aligned with the groups described, but share common experiences with Group 2; although at least one parent is a graduate, neither parent has advanced English skills so that most have been unable to find professional or highly skilled work in Edinburgh. Two fathers in these families migrated first alone, while the other three families migrated together. Unsurprisingly these parents emphasised their efforts to improve their English, and those in three of the families had intermediate level English.

The parents in row five, graduates with advanced English who arrived with children, correspond moderately well with Group 3 as defined, with parents' rationales for migration described primarily in terms of wanting a change in two families and as a career move in the third. In two of these families however parents have 'deskilled' to

some extent, with one mother, Ola[4], taking a further degree in her subject alongside deskilled work and another, Anita, having lost her job in Edinburgh found work teaching English to Polish adults.

The one family in row four merit attention as they differ from the more common patterns of characteristics. The parents in this family, Dagmara and Bruno[5] arrived before having children, soon after graduating. They differ from others with these characteristics in that neither parent has an advanced level of English. This perhaps results from the fact that both parents have worked in Polish-run delicatessens in the UK, providing reduced opportunities or immediate need for learning English. They however stress the importance of improving their English if they are to stay.

Using the analysis to identify clusters

Two options for grouping the families that are suggested by the analysis in table 4.1 are: first, the Boolean analysis result (P = D + edC) distinguishes two groups, one of families with graduate parents (D, 18 families) and the other of families who arrived with children, lack advanced English and do not have degrees (edC, 12 families). This division has the disadvantage that all families with at least one graduate parent are grouped together, even though they have a diverse range of other characteristics and experiences, in particular English language fluency.

A second option of division into three groups, more similar to those previously proposed, might define Group 2 as encompassing all families in which parents lack advanced English (rows 2, 3 and 4) who share similar obstacles in integration and work, Group 1 as those who have degrees but arrived before children (row 1) and Group 3 (row 5) as those with advanced English who arrived with children. This option however still fails to take into account the difference between parents' strategies in migration, and in particular the importance of migrating to work in the

[4] Respondent names given are pseudonyms, in order to maintain confidentiality.
[5] Wherever couples are referred to the mother's name is given first. This is for consistency only, and does not imply any prioritisation of the mother's views.

field in which one is qualified. This requires the incorporation of outcome characteristics into the analysis.

Exploring relationships between characteristics and lifestyle outcomes

Ragin's primary use of QCA is to analyse the relationship between combinations of characteristics and outcomes and this section looks at how the family characteristics already identified related to 'outcomes' in terms of families' housing and employment in Edinburgh. The truth table approach to analysis allows for the identification of necessary and/or sufficient conditions for particular outcomes among the respondent group. Again, while this analysis does not provide a complete picture of respondent experiences, it assists in understanding the underlying context which set families' experiences and options, providing a background to fuller explorations of these in the subsequent chapters.

While the analysis provided here then is a long way from 'the full story', it serves two purposes: first, it demonstrates that the key characteristics identified as clustering above, are also associated with some key social outcomes in Scotland. Second, it provides further potential ways of grouping the respondents, incorporating key lifestyle outcomes, which are useful for enabling comparisons of experiences and attitudes described in respondents' interviews. Thus, the lifestyle 'outcomes' described here, can be considered as 'input' characteristics in relation to further 'outputs' constituting migrants' attitudes and future plans which potentially are influenced by their experiences of life in Edinburgh.

Housing

In defining an output variable to indicate respondents' housing type in Edinburgh, I combine information about housing tenure (whether respondents are owner-occupiers or in privately rented or social housing) with an indicator of the prosperity of their local area. For area information I make use of the area categories identified

by the Output Area Classification Group (2011) (OAC), who, using data from the 2001 census, identified areas of relative uniformity in relation to demographic structure, household composition, housing and socio-economic and employment factors. I divide these categories into two broad groups according to their relative prosperity (see Appendix B). The Housing variable for the QCA analysis is then defined as '1' for families in owner-occupied housing or in private rental accommodation in more prosperous areas, and '0' for families in social housing or in private rentals in less prosperous areas. Introducing this housing variable and omitting the qualification variable in order to simplify the analysis (this omission results in the loss of some relevant information, but overall trends are still evident, as language ability, for most parents, correlates with qualification levels) results in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Language, family stage at arrival and housing

Row Number	Advanced English	Arrived with children	Housing indicator	Frequency
1.	0	1	0	11
2.	0	1	1	4
3.	1	1	1	3
4.	1	0	0	1
5.	1	0	1	8

N = 27 (addresses not provided by 3 families)

From table 4.2, two of the existing three combinations of English level and family stage at arrival can be seen to lead to different possible outcomes for different families. The only combination associated with a single outcome (row 3) is for families with a parent who is a graduate, who has advanced English and who arrived with children. These three families all live in 'better' housing.

Considering for a moment only English language as an input, of the fifteen families who lack advanced English (rows 1 and 2), eleven are in 'poorer' housing, as defined by the housing indicator, while of the twelve who have advanced English (rows 3 to 5) eleven are in 'better' housing, indicating the close relationship between English language level and housing type.

Looking at individual rows

Taking individual rows in turn, parents in the eleven families in row 1 migrated with children and lack advanced English. Of these eight live in social housing while the other three have privately rented flats in areas described according to the OAC as 'Constrained by Circumstances' ('CbyC') - areas characterised as housing populations with lower educational qualifications and consisting predominantly of social housing (Output Area Classification User Group, 2011).

The eight families in row 5 have advanced English and arrived before having children, of these, four have bought their own flats or houses, three live in privately rented flats and one in a house which is tied to the parents' employment in a care home. These families are located across central and near-central suburbs of Edinburgh in relatively prosperous areas, in two OAC area types: 'typical traits', characterised as constituted typically of terraced housing, with low levels of social housing, and 'city living' - characterised as housing more highly-educated populations, typically including first-generation immigrants and with private rentals predominating (see Appendix B for full OAC area definitions). The three families in row 3, who also have advanced English but came with children, all live in privately rented flats also in more prosperous areas.

However there are five families who buck the general trends in relation to housing. Four families (in row 2) who lack advanced English and migrated with children live in privately rented flats in more prosperous areas, classified as 'city living' or 'typical traits'. However from interviews it is evident that housing is problematic for three of these families who expressed worries about housing costs or the condition of their property: Zosia and Mikolai say their flat is damp, and Emilia and Bartek have problems with poor heating and have too few bedrooms for their teenage son and daughter to have independent rooms. Two of these families have applied for social housing and would prefer this, although it would be likely to entail a move to a 'poorer' area. The fourth couple, Zuzanna and Krzysztof are in a stronger financial situation than most Group 2 families. The family did not migrate because of

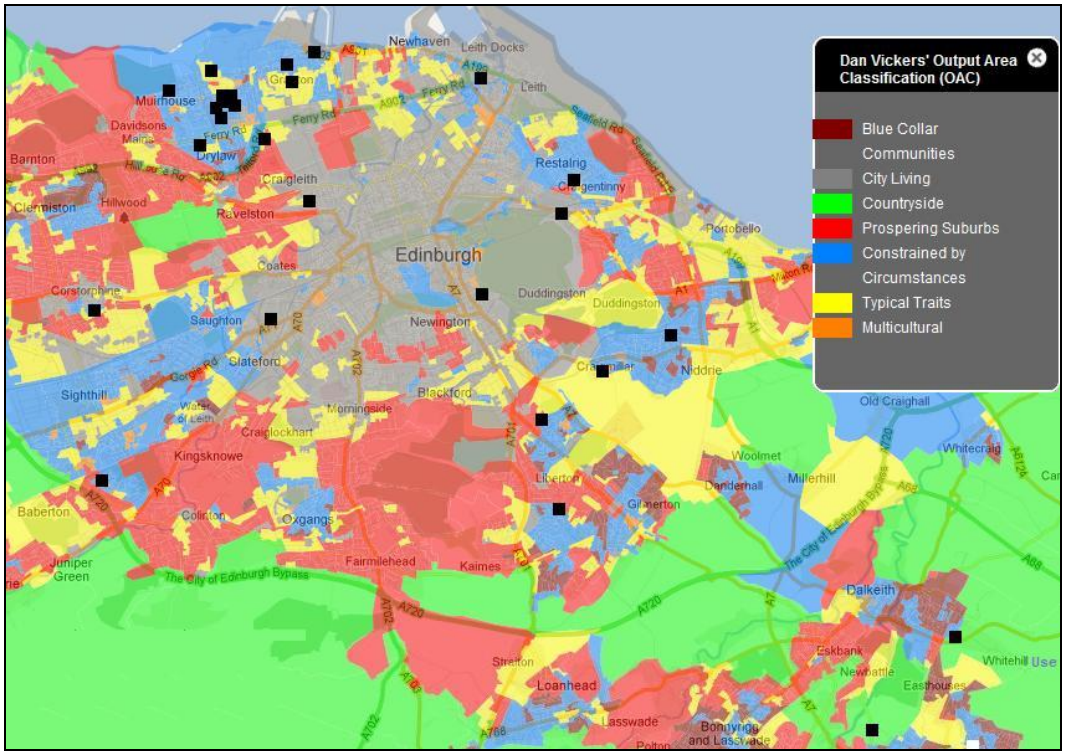
immediate employment or financial problems, but because they saw migration as an opportunity; they migrated with some savings and Krzysztof has found a reliable job as a driver; they hope to buy their own home in the near future.

The reverse appears to be true of the one family in row 4, Izabela and Jakub, who live in an area defined as 'CbyC', although this would not be predicted from their characteristics: they migrated after graduating and before having children and Izabela has fluent English, placing them clearly in Group 1. They explain in their interview that while they are not entirely happy with their location and aware that it is not a 'good' area, they were keen to take advantage of the security of tenure and low rent offered by social housing. They have moved twice within the social-housing scheme and now live near the border of a more prosperous neighbourhood. Also, they have been able to access educational bursaries and pre-school leisure facilities, funded by the council only in parts of Edinburgh identified as areas of social deprivation. This family then appeared to be making a well-informed choice, albeit one which goes against norms for their group.

Summary of housing outcomes

None of the families in the study lived in housing in the areas defined by the OAC project as 'prospering suburbs', and only a few families within those areas classified as 'city living' or 'typical traits'. Families across the whole study group, although their income and housing tenure varied, migrating from Poland, and without a foot on British the housing ladder, found it necessary to live in less expensive areas. The process of defining the housing indicator for the QCA analysis threw light however on strategies adopted by well-informed families in private or owner-occupied housing, identifying housing on the borders between 'better' and 'worse' areas, balancing lower prices with proximity to more desirable localities (this tendency is evident from the map of respondents' housing shown in Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1 Edinburgh showing respondents' housing and OAC-classified areas



The analysis of table 4.2 above reflects that for most families the option to rent in a more prosperous area requires a higher income than can be earned in unskilled work, with parents in ten out of the twelve families who rent privately in 'better' areas as well as all five of the families who are owner-occupiers being graduates with advanced English. There is some variation between individual families however, and the selected characteristics do not always determine families' options. Families may choose to spend less on housing, or to live in an area they know to be poorer, in order to access the security of social housing tenures (see discussion of Polish housing norms in Chapter 5) or to be close to their work or to other family members. Families who lack English language and who came with children vary in their financial circumstances and even for those who deskill, employment is not always into poorly paid unskilled work. Deskilling is the second output variable that I now introduce to the analysis.

Employment and deskilling

Categorising types of employment and identifying 'deskilling' in employment are complex, making 'deskilling' somewhat problematic to operationalise as a binary variable. In order to explore the importance of deskilling in outcomes for families, an outcome variable, 'Uses Polish skills' was introduced. This variable was defined to be '0' when the main earner had deskilled, and so was not utilising skills or qualification achieved in Poland in their employment in Edinburgh, and '1' when the main earner was utilising skills or qualifications from Poland. Within the respondent group, for those families in which parents stated that they earned equally (so that there was no main earner) the data showed that all partners had either both deskilled or neither had, so that both parents' experiences could be captured by a single variable (see Appendix B for a more detailed discussion). Introducing this deskilling variable to the truth table analysis results in table 4.3; in this table the qualification variable is also re-introduced, as qualifications were anticipated as likely to be particularly relevant to employment along with English language level. For simplification, family stage at migration is omitted:

Table 4.3 English level and qualifications in relation to deskilling

Row number	Advanced English (E)	Degree (D)	Uses Polish skills (S)	Frequency
1.	0	0	0	9
2.	0	0	1	3
3.	0	1	0	6
4.	1	1	0	7
5.	1	1	1	5

As already discussed, of four possible combinations of English level and qualification, only three exist among the group as there are no families in which one of the parents has advanced English and neither are graduates. From this table we can generate the following Boolean equation:

S = ED + ed where S = using Polish skills
E = has advanced English
D = at least one parent has a degree

That is, those who have not deskilled are either graduates with advanced English or lack advanced English and are not graduates; however, some parents from families with all of the existing combinations of input characteristics have deskilled (rows one, three and four).

The only combination of language skills and qualifications relating to a single outcome is where both parents lack strong English skills but at least one is a graduate, and in all of these families the main earner has deskilled (row 3 in table 4.3). This relates to a phenomenon also indicated by a survey of Polish migrants in London (Iglicka, 2008 table 16, p11) showing a larger proportion of highly-educated migrants in low-paid unskilled work than those who have lower levels of education but possess vocational skills; this reflects that engagement in professional work requires good communication skills. Three of the main earners in families in this row (row 3 in table 4.3) were in professional employment in Poland and the other two parents had both graduated shortly before migration, but were not utilising their qualifications and skills in Edinburgh. The father in the sixth family, Łukasz, had already deskilled in Poland, using a secondary qualification as an electrician rather than his economics degree; he was able to utilise this skill again in Edinburgh, rather than taking unskilled work, and his unusual determination to communicate and integrate also have helped him with this.

Parents in families in row 1 do not have advanced English or degrees and have deskilled. Although several work in unskilled jobs, two for example in recycling, others have found skilled manual work using a secondary skill from unpaid or informal work in Poland, for example in construction or as drivers (see also Chapter 5). This row includes the three single mothers in the respondent group, none of whom make use of their skills or qualifications from Poland and who all work in Edinburgh as cleaners. Cleaning work is by far the most common employment for mothers in the study who lack strong English skills.

Row two consists of three families in which parents lack strong English skills and are not graduates, but have not deskilled. The main earners in all these families are the fathers who have continued to work in the skilled or semi-skilled manual work they

did in Poland, two as builders and one as a truck driver. One father has set up his own building company, but by the time of the second interview, with work scarce, he had diversified to take on a wider range of construction and 'handyman' jobs and also offers a small-removals service. From their accounts we can suggest why these three fathers accessed skilled work while others who lacked English did not. Two of these fathers migrated three or more years before their families, and in this period were able to look around for appropriate work without the immediate pressure to support their families at the outset; their early arrival means also that they arrived well before the onset of financial crisis, when work was more readily available. The third father migrated only a few months before his family, but came in response to an invitation to take up a construction job from fellow-workers from his job in Poland.

For graduates with advanced English the options vary, and these families are fairly evenly split between those who have deskilled and those who have not. But deskilling for these respondents stems from different rationales, and tends to involve different kinds of work than those who lack English skills. Deskilling for these families often means a decision to embark on a new career, perhaps after a period of taking manual unskilled work. Row 4 families include main earners in employment as carers, nurses, administrators, and a second father has started his own building company.

Parents in the five families in row 5 are graduates with advanced English who have not deskilled, having been able to continue careers based on their Polish qualifications and skills. For them migrating to the UK offers better chances of professional advancement than staying in Poland, as well as providing the opportunity to gain valuable additional experience and skills. The main earners in these families include IT professionals, an architect, a chef and a parent who runs a Polish school. Families in this row, importantly, are better aligned with Group 3 as described above, than with the other families sharing the same 'input' characteristics. Utilisation of their professional skills in Edinburgh, as well as providing an indicator of their likely rationales for migration, impacts in a major way on these migrants' lives in Edinburgh. The importance of whether migrants have deskilled or not to

experiences and outcomes suggests that incorporating the deskilling variable into the group definitions might distinguish the groups more effectively than using input characteristics alone.

Summary of main-earner deskilling analysis

The above analysis is simplified, and fails to fully reflect the complexities underlying families' experiences, both in its operationalisation of 'deskilling', and in the omission from analysis of the individual qualifications and language skills of each partner in a couple. It nevertheless demonstrates some general trends. Main earners in most families in which neither parent has strong English have deskilled; this may mean working in unskilled manual work or making use of a secondary skill, working for example as a joiner or driver. Within this respondent group, being qualified to graduate level in itself does not seem to assist with, and may even provide an obstacle to, accessing employment other than unskilled manual labour. Outcomes for those who lack English skills are not inevitable however, and those who found work before they migrated, who came ahead of partners and children, or who have managed to overcome communication problems, sometimes access better work than would be predicted from the general trends. Among families with parents with advanced English language and who are graduates there is diversity in work. Some respondents - Group 3 parents - are advancing in a career they began in Poland, while others - Group 1 parents - used migration, and the period of initial deskilling that often followed, as a chance to change career direction and start afresh; several of these parents are training and working in caring professions.

Redefining the groups using a deskilling variable

As suggested above, including the 'output' variable of deskilling in the group definition allows for a division into three groups which resembles more closely the original descriptions of these groups. Table 4.4 shows three rows defined to represent the groups in a way that combines the findings from the input characteristic analysis

and that of deskilling to represent the three groups. Group definitions have been adjusted to incorporate cases who are similar but did not fit the original row definition; for example Ola and Mariusz, who migrated with their two year old daughter were aligned with Group 1 families in other respects, as Ola was a recent graduate and fluent in English, so that the Group 1 definition was amended to include those arriving with children. Only one family are not categorised into one of the three groups according to these definitions. Dagmara and Bruno's family, as described above, are most similar to Group 1 families, but their English is not as good as others in this group. To keep definitions simple, they are left out, although using a different threshold for language skill or taking parental and children's age into account might allow them to be included.

Table 4.4 Group definitions using input variables plus 'deskilling'

Group No.	Variable values	Advanced English (**E**)	Degree (**D**)	Migrated with Children (**C**)	Main Earner uses skills (**S**)	Frequency
1	**EDs**	1	1	0/1	0	7
2	**eC**	0	0/1	1	0/1	17
3	**EDS**	1	1	0/1	1	5

The group definitions become:

Group 1 = EDs: Graduate parents who have advanced English but do not use their Polish qualifications or skills.

Group 2 = eC: Parents who lack advanced English and who migrated with children

Group 3 = EDS: Graduate parents who have advanced English and who utilise their qualifications or employment skills from Poland.

These group definitions have been achieved through a fairly lengthy process of analysing individual cases in conjunction with common trends, but reflect the explanations for family differences provided by the historical analysis together with

families' own interview accounts. While the definitions do not correspond precisely with the groups as described earlier, or categorise every family definitively - some families share individual characteristics and experiences with families in groups to which they do not strictly belong - the QCA analysis clearly demonstrates clustering among the key characteristics and so supports the existence of distinct types among the families.

The QCA groupings identified in this chapter provided a context and structure for subsequent in-depth analysis of families' interview accounts of their experiences, attitudes and plans. I explored the extent to which families in each group shared similar experiences, and the scope for substantial differences within groups. Families' experiences were also compared across groups, to explore how different areas of life are influenced by the factors distinguishing the groups. Analysis of individual families who buck the trends, and who may be grouped differently depending on which experience or outcome provides the focus of analysis, assists particularly in identifying how different characteristics influence experiences and plans. It is perhaps over-simplistic to suggest that the families with 'better' outcomes than might be predicted from their characteristics are those for whom individual agency overcame structural constraints, but in several cases it appears to be something in respondents' individual personal traits, in levels of determination or personal confidence for example, that explain differences in outcomes.

Each of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focuses on discourses and experiences associated with one of the three groups, but these experiences are often relevant to some individual families, or to a lesser extent to all families, across the other groups as well. Each chapter picks out a few families who exemplify the discourses and experiences discussed, some, but not all of whom are clearly defined members of the associated group, and presents these families' accounts at the end of each chapter as case studies to illustrate how the discussed experiences and discourses are relevant in particular families' lives. In Chapter 8 I again utilise the QCA group definitions, in order to explore how families' expectations and plans for the future relate to membership of the three groups identified in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Older families and reference groups

As described in Chapter 1, studies often portray post-2004 A8 migration as typical of 'new migration'. It is suggested that increased ease of travel and communication, together with the right to free movement and work within the EU have provided a context for new transient migration forms, whereby migrants are able to engage in circular migration, to be flexible about their migration plans and to maintain close links with sending countries. Recent migrants from Eastern Europe are also characterised as more individualistic and less likely to form communities in the receiving country, younger and better qualified than migrants of earlier decades (Favell, 2008b; Markova and Black, 2007) and to include higher proportions of women migrating independently, rather than as 'trailing partners'.

In contrast to this focus on single migrants, White's study (2009a) focuses on family migration from areas of Poland with high unemployment, and examines the 'livelihood strategies' of families in which parents are not highly qualified and who were suffering financial hardship in Poland, leading them to choose migration. Among these families, one parent - usually the father - migrated first on a temporary or circular basis, with both parents deciding at a later stage to reunite by bringing the rest of the family to the UK. A substantial proportion of the families in my study, although migrating from more diverse regions of Poland, share the kinds of migration rationales and strategies described by White, migrating primarily because of financial difficulties in Poland. As described in Chapter 3, as well as families in which fathers migrated first, similarly to those described in White's study, other members of my respondent group migrated together as whole families, arriving a few years after 2004, having first gained information from friends or family members about life in the UK, and migrating to destinations where they had contacts who could help them with settlement. These families form the Group 2 as identified in Chapter 4 and their experiences and attitudes provide the focus for this chapter.

As described in Chapter 4, seventeen of the twenty families in the study who migrated with children share some key characteristics and these were used to identify them as a distinct group for the purposes of analysis. Parents are typically in their mid-30s or 40s, their oldest child was of school age when they migrated and, critically to their experiences in Edinburgh, parents had only basic English language skills on arrival. Integration literature predicts that language is a key factor in integration (Dustmann and Soest, 2002; Esser, 2006) and the shared obstacles faced by families because of their lack of language was evident in the extreme difference between the experiences of lives and settlement described by these seventeen families and those of the three sets of parents who also migrated with children but spoke fluent English on arrival.

Reference groups

The conceptual approach adopted in presenting and analysing family members' accounts in this chapter focuses on 'reference groups' or 'reference points' adopted by respondents in describing and assessing their lives. I make use of both the original and some new conceptualisations of the reference group concept, as discussed in Chapter 2. Traditional use of the concept refers to social groups or categories against which people compare themselves and from which they may draw their norms and values; these may be groups to which they belong or aspire to belong, or from which they may wish to distance themselves (Hyman, 1942; Merton and Kitt, 1950). From more recent conceptualisations of the concept I utilise the idea that an individual's own past life may also be used as a 'reference point' for comparative purposes (Clark *et al.*, 2008; Di Tella and MacCulloch, 2008; Pop-Eleches, 2009). Exploring which reference groups or points migrants prioritise in assessing and presenting their post-migration lives allows identification of the potential sources for their assessment of the success of the migration project, and for their development, either of a sense of belonging or well-being, or alternatively of frustration and exclusion, in Edinburgh.

McGhee *et al.* (2012) in analysing data from a study of Polish post-accession migrants in the UK highlight the importance of comparisons with one's own past life

for assessment of the success of migration and suggest that this also impacts on future plans for return or settlement. Their conclusions however differ from mine in that they find such 'transnational autobiographical' comparisons to be more important in general than comparisons with social groups in migrants' current lives. In contrast, I suggest that while some of the migrants in my study prioritise reference points from their own past in Poland, others prioritise social groups in the UK as reference groups for the purposes of personal comparisons and assessment. I find among my respondent group that while Group 1 and 3 parents both describe patterns of reference group adoption that are similar to other families within their respective groups, Group 2 parents indicate greater variation in their adoption of reference groups according to their own individual experiences, priorities and characteristics, and it is this variation and its associated causes that provide the focus in this chapter.

Group 1 parents in my study, those who arrived as single migrants before having children, in their accounts of their lives since migration, describe a progression through similar distinct stages in terms of reference group adoption. In the early months after arrival, these respondents referenced the values and opinions of people back in Poland (Cerase, 1974) and assessed the value of their earnings and savings by calculating their spending power in Poland according to the current exchange rates. This focus on Poland partly reflects their intention at that time to return to Poland and also their continued close ties and frequent visits there. Over time after 2004, while individual trajectories vary, in general, Group 1 parents describe a progression, first shifting to referencing social networks of Polish and other migrants in the UK with whom they then worked and socialised, and later again, as a result of beginning to engage in vocational courses, to work alongside British locals, and through parenting and leisure pursuits, to referencing local people. These reference groups are relevant for making comparisons and drawing norms both in relation to social customs and values and to earning capability. Nowicka highlights the relevance of highly-qualified migrants' simultaneous referencing of norms in both Poland and the UK to their preparedness to maintain a 'suspended' status in deskilled work in the UK (Nowicka, 2012); in relation to my group, her analysis particularly relates to a stage in the years shortly after migration.

Group 3 families, who migrated for career-advancement and new experiences, usually graduates with fluent English, are engaging in professional or highly-skilled work and this provides them with opportunities for more meaningful and power-equal social interactions with local people (Ramasawmy, 2007; Ryan *et al.*, 2008b). Equally they can from the outset engage with local people through leisure pursuits. As a result it is easy for them to adopt their local peer-group as a reference group (see Chapters 7 and 9 for further discussion of Group 3 parents).

The picture for Group 2 parents is more varied however. For these parents, engaged in long hours of manual work, social networks usually consist exclusively of other Polish migrants. These parents are older and might be expected as a result to hold more firmly established values and behavioural norms than younger migrants. Following the logic adopted by Fan and Stark (2007), we might predict that maintaining reference groups of other Polish migrants will make deskilling to manual work more acceptable as a long-term option, as comparisons are then made with others for whom the norm is deskilling. Referencing Polish migrant groups also allows migrants' pre-migration standing in Poland to be carried over to the UK context to some extent. Over time however, variations in individual migrants' success at negotiating employment and life generally in the UK, within constraints that are shared by the whole group, may become relevant.

For these families, financially insecure and stressful family lives in Poland immediately prior to migration are found to be highly relevant to assessments of life, providing an element that is not so highly-charged and strongly felt by members of the other two groups, and these comparisons lead Group 2 parents to a favourable assessment of life in Edinburgh. As well as memories of individual life in Poland, standards and norms of British life are found to be important to comparisons made and reference groups adopted. Relevant here is the idea that migrants are trying to attain a 'normal life', not available to them in Poland, as highlighted by several analysts (Galasinska and Kozlowska, 2009; McGhee *et al.*, 2012). It is worth considering however that the adoption of new reference groups and points may over time alter the meaning migrants attribute to 'normality'.

Focusing then on reference group adoption among Group 2 families, in this chapter I argue that for several parents among this group, the key source of current satisfaction with life in Scotland is the comparison they make with their own life in Poland prior to migration. As well as this comparison however, respondents see themselves in relation to other Polish migrants, to friends or others who stayed in Poland, to migrants from other countries, and in relation to local people. Among these are groups to which they feel they belong, to which they wish to belong and from which they prefer to disassociate themselves. Looking at interview accounts, I consider in turn the main situations which seem to generate different reference points and groups for comparison among Group 2 parents: first, Poland and family life there prior to migration and then lives in Edinburgh, including work environments, public spaces and interactions, housing and neighbourhoods, and finally contexts relating to children. I finish the chapter by presenting three case studies of Group 2 families who exemplify identification with different reference groups and the contexts that generate these. The case studies highlight how individual personal characteristics and chance elements in migrants' lives contribute to adoption of particular reference groups, and how reference group selection influences parents' assessments of their lives in Edinburgh.

Comparisons with past life in Poland

In interviews, most of the parents in families who arrived with children emphasised the difference between the life they lead in Edinburgh and their previous lives in Poland. Daily familiarity with the norms of everyday family life in Poland provided a quite different point for comparison and assessment of life in Edinburgh than was available for those who had left Poland as young single adults, who had not worked and raised children there and dealt with the daily pressures resulting from low Polish income levels combined with high housing and family living costs. While those who arrived before having children could compare their lives in Edinburgh with memories of growing up in Poland and with accounts from friends of their current lives in Poland, for families who came with children the immediacy of recent personal experience provides a significantly more powerful influence on their attitudes.

Group 2 families described stressful and difficult lives in Poland immediately prior to migration. Some parents had lost their jobs and others described how their small businesses, often small shops, had gone bankrupt; parents had sometimes subsequently spent several years looking for work and moving from one poorly-paid job to another. Others had supplemented low incomes by engaging in secondary work. Those who had attempted or hoped to set up their own business in Poland compared the lack of financial support for, and high, frequently increasing and unpredictable taxes on small business in Poland, contrasting this with the ease and greater assistance available for small start-ups in the UK (see also Nowicka, 2012). In some families one parent had worked abroad or at a distance for long periods. Several fathers had worked intermittently or continuously in the UK for several years prior to the whole family migrating. One couple, Helena and Jacek had both worked away from home, Helena in Germany and Jacek as a Europe-wide truck driver, leaving their two children with grandparents.

Several parents described the insecurity and unpredictability of employment, describing how employers, for example, demanded that employees work overtime at short notice or failed to pay overtime fairly. Older respondents pointed also to age-discrimination in employment, suggesting that finding employment was problematic for those over 50. Mikolai, a construction worker who had lived in a rural area in the North of Poland described how he was unable to find any work in winter months, as construction work ceased when snow lay on the ground. Mikolai, who now works as a painter in Edinburgh describes the personal impact of the difference in employers' attitudes:

> Here I feel easy. No pressure about anything. I know when I get up in the morning, go and do my job: Eight hours, and then I'm off. Nobody pushes me, 'Hey, faster!', 'Hey, do that!', 'Hey, stay for ten hours!'. Nobody does that. No, eight hours is enough and thirty-eight hours a week is enough. If I want to work more, if my boss needs me to work more, he asks me and I say 'OK'. No, I don't have to. In Poland, 'You come in tomorrow!' Saturday? Sunday? No problem. You come in tomorrow. And if you say 'No, no, I'm busy', 'Don't come in Monday, you're off!' (Mikolai)

For these families, life is financially more secure in the UK. For some this meant the removal of worries about affording basics such as children's clothes, for others it meant that they could now afford a holiday. Respondents' increased sense of financial security is also backed-up by an awareness of the relative generosity of state benefits and free services provided by the NHS in Scotland, as well as the more flexible and supportive response of agencies such as the council tax department to financial difficulties stemming, for example, from temporary illness and inability to work (see also Heath *et al.*, 2011).

Most fundamentally to life, in whatever sector respondents had worked in Poland, and even for those for whom work had been secure, earnings were lower relative to housing and living costs than those in the UK, making for a less comfortable existence (see also White, 2009a). Respondents described having to choose between buying food or children's clothes, and the decision to have a child was in itself stressful when reliability of earnings for the future was uncertain. Grandparents often helped out, for example buying text books required by children's schools. Few families had been able to afford to take foreign holidays (see also Heath *et al.*, 2011) and parents were used to planning and saving carefully for children's presents at Christmas. Migration while not leading to a luxury lifestyle, had enabled a 'normal' one (Galasinska and Kozlowska, 2009).

> ..in Poland I was constantly worrying about should I buy - bread or milk, what am I going to give my children to eat for dinner and so on. (Irena, translated)

> We weren't able to afford books and other necessities for school for both children every year. If it wasn't for my parents' help, I don't know how we'd have managed. (Emilia and Bartek)

For those families who already had children in Poland, life in Edinburgh provides a huge contrast with these lived experiences in Poland, and, while respondents do not spend time overtly weighing up the differences, nevertheless this historical context provides the reference point against which they rate their lives in Edinburgh, and judge them very favourably:

> You don't have to worry about money all the time and save every penny so you can afford food and basic commodities. (Amelia)

> My two older daughters [..] said they're not going to go back and that they're staying here. Even if they get married, they won't go back to Poland. [..] Especially since they've been through their share of poverty and know what it's like, for example, not to have any bread at home. (Małgorzata)

Several respondents focused in interviews on how much less stressful life in Edinburgh is than their previous lives in Poland. Two lone parent mothers, Irena and Amelia, who both work as cleaners and live in social housing, emphasised how satisfied they were simply to have a calm life with a secure job and housing. Both mothers described the gain in migration that their working hours in Edinburgh enable them to spend their weekends at home with their children, shopping, cooking and relaxing. It seems likely that their situation as lone parents has contributed to this experience; White (2009a) highlights that pressures on lone parents to migrate are particularly extreme.

Eight families in the study were living in social housing in Edinburgh, and several parents in these families expressed their surprise and pleasure at having been offered new-build houses or flats bigger than those they could have hoped to access in Poland. They particularly valued the secure tenure offered by social housing, and that it meant they could have, for the first time, a family home, not needing assistance from, or to share a household with, other family members. I return to housing further below, as these families' preferences over housing also have implications for social interactions.

For families in privately rented accommodation, the fact that their landlord could ask them to leave at the end of each six-month lease period, undermined their sense of security, but several nevertheless pointed out that their flats were bigger than had been affordable in Poland. One mother explained that it was important to them not to live in the Polish way any more, typified for her by too many people crowded into a small flat, with someone commonly required to sleep in the living room and children

sharing bedrooms. Amelia, a lone-parent, who lived with her husband and two children in Poland, describes how their housing association flat here compares with their flat in Poland:

> Our flat was very small - only 32 square meters, only one room and a kitchen. Everything had to fit in that one room: bedroom, playroom, bathroom in the corner. It felt very small. This flat, on the other hand, is very comfortable. In Poland I wouldn't have got a flat like this, even if I'd waited 30 years (Amelia, translated)

While housing and work are vital, leisure activities generate the sense that life is not all drudgery, and several families commented that living in Scotland allowed them to take their first 'real' foreign holiday. For ordinary families in Poland, foreign holidays are unusual, so that in the following quotation, the norm for a 'real' holiday is generated from a reference group of British or Western European life that is aspired to, rather than a previous Polish norm:

> We went just once, last year, to Egypt. We were very happy. It's like the first holiday, like real holiday.. a hotel (Kinga)

Several families in the group however could still not afford foreign holidays beyond occasional trips back to Poland, and some parents in manual work were unable to take leave from work concurrently and so took their holidays separately.

For these families who migrated with children, the basics of life, regular work, spending power and housing, compare extremely favourably with their lives immediately prior to migration, and this comparison looms large in generating a sense of comfort and lack of stress. For the moment at least, this reference point of life in Poland before migration dominates, and its use for comparative purposes makes it obvious to families that the migration project was a success.

Employment and the reference group comparisons it generates

Not all aspects of life in Edinburgh have this effect however. In particular employment has more complex and varied impacts on attitudes and satisfaction with life among the respondent group. Most parents among Group 2 families were working in low- or unskilled jobs and almost all had deskilled to some extent from their previous work in Poland. Table 4.3 in Chapter 4 showed that only three out of the eighteen sets of parents who lack advanced English skills used their qualifications or skills from Poland. Some viewed this as a satisfactory situation and acceptable for the foreseeable future, while others felt that it was important to move to something better soon. Working in unskilled employment immediately after migration was viewed by most parents, however, as a necessity. This situation was not perceived as the result of discrimination, but simply as a natural consequence of being unable to communicate at the level required for engaging in skilled employment. Earning a reliable income that is sufficient to support a significantly better family lifestyle than had been possible in Poland, was for most a more pressing concern than employment status.

In Chapter 4 I discussed complexities underlying the concept of 'deskilling'. While I use the term 'deskilled' for any work which does not utilise the employment experiences, skills or qualifications migrants attained in Poland, for Group 2 families, as is evident from Table 5.1, jobs before and after migration for those who 'deskilled' encompass a variety of different levels of 'skill'. The majority of Group 3 parents are not highly-qualified, and their jobs in Poland span a spectrum from unskilled to professional employment, but even for those who had unskilled jobs in Poland, the status of their job in the UK is often lower, requiring no previous work experience or communication skills (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, deskilling for graduates who have strong English can have quite different implications). Frequently, and perhaps significantly for how satisfactory current jobs will continue to be over time, deskilling involves a switch from sedentary work (of a type typical in the 'knowledge economy') to physically demanding manual work.

Table 5.1 Jobs in Poland and Edinburgh, for all individual parents who have 'deskilled' after migration and who lack advanced English

In Poland	**In Edinburgh (1st or 2nd interview)**
Men	
Railway engineering manager	Kitchen assistant
Health service economist	Food packaging worker
Computer professional	Recycling worker
Library worker	Kitchen worker
Radio Engineer	Care worker
Water purification worker	Driver
Chef	Handyman
Textile wholesale manager	Joiner
Builder	Bakery worker
Baker	Construction worker
Builder	Painter
Security Guard	Recycling worker
Long-distance truck driver	Recycling worker
Women	
Teacher	Classroom assistant
Chef	Cleaner
Manager	Cleaner
Textile company manager (own company)	Housekeeper / cleaner
Bank Cashier	Laundry worker
Care worker	Laundry worker
Care worker	Cleaner
Administrator	Cleaner
Shop worker	Cleaner
Managed own shop	Cleaner
Sales person	Cleaner
Graduate in Tourism	Cleaner
Deputy shop manager	Cleaner
Shop worker	Cleaner

As described in Chapter 4, several fathers had made use of secondary skills in accessing work in Edinburgh, in construction or driving, and one father, Łukasz, working in Edinburgh as an electrician, had already 'deskilled' while in Poland from more highly-qualified work which utilised his Economics degree. That fathers more frequently possess secondary skills stems from two norms in Poland: first, that men often carry out home repairs both for themselves and for family and neighbours, either on a paid or on a reciprocal basis and second, that work qualifications gained in vocational schools in Poland often relate to locally available employment, but several respondents taking this route had moved to a different employment sector,

perhaps studying further to change area; this personal trajectory meant that they possessed vocational skills other than those they had been utilising in employment prior to migration in Poland.

Deskilling involves a loss of status, which might be expected to impact on satisfaction with life in Edinburgh, particularly for those who are in unskilled work and were in skilled or professional work in Poland. However, as long as migrants maintain social networks with others who have similarly deskilled from positions of higher work status in Poland, or, as Eade *et al.* (2006) suggest, adopt a 'transnational' class status, which incorporates a comparison with potential earnings in Poland, their status relative to other Poles is not damaged. However, it can be anticipated that if migrants begin to adopt British local workers as the reference group for comparative work-status assessment, then a status loss might be felt.

Most 'Group 2' respondents working in unskilled manual work described hopes and plans of returning to the kind of work they had done in Poland once they have attained sufficient English skills, but there was for most a concern that their current long hours of physically demanding work left them with insufficient time or energy for learning English or attending ESOL classes, so that this process might be very slow or falter entirely. Renata, who was a teacher in Poland and now works as a classroom assistant, speaks English well; she plans to enrol in a course to gain a teaching qualification in Edinburgh, but feels that her English is not yet sufficient. At the first interview she explains that she has set herself a target time-limit of ten years to return to teaching. At the second interview she sounds less positive about achieving her goal. Her daughter's out-of-school activities have meant she has given up evening English classes. She still feels that she is not ready to take a teaching course, but is aware of time passing without employment progression.

Descriptions of work situations by several of the deskilled migrants had an air of hopelessness about them, a sense that the timescales and obstacles involved were too great for plans to be realised. Patryk had worked in Poland as a security guard (and regarded this as his profession) but having only elementary English he currently

works in recycling, working twelve hours a day, five days a week. When I ask him if he is happy to continue with this, he replies simply, 'I don't have an option'.

Weronika and Dawid migrated with children and had only basic English on arrival. Weronika was unusual among this group in that, having worked as an accountant in Poland, she enrolled during the study year on an accountancy course in an FE college in Edinburgh. Chapter 6 looks at how vocational training is often accessed by those who arrived before having children, but for them this usually involves embarking on a new career path. In her interview Weronika expresses her disappointment and frustration with the norm of cleaning work in the UK for Polish migrant women:

> **Lucy:** *Do you have some plans here?*
> **Weronika:** Long term plans (laughs).
> **Lucy:** *So when you came here what did you do?*
> **Weronika:** I worked as a cleaner - the usual for Polish people (she pulls a face to show what a let down that was)
> **Lucy:** *a big difference*
> **Weronika:** Because in Poland I was a manager.

Some of the unskilled jobs respondents described however offer potential for advancement or for increased flexibility and autonomy over time and some respondents expressed satisfaction about this. Three mothers who had been employed as cleaners had advanced or transferred within their work to a post with better hours or responsibilities. A father working as driver for a take-away restaurant had formed a good relationship with his boss so that he could negotiate hours and days of work to fit with the family's needs and was pleased with his situation. Most of those using secondary skills were also satisfied with the possibility of remaining and possibly advancing within the skilled or semi-skilled sector into which they had 'deskilled'.

Dissatisfaction arising from discrimination – comparisons with other groups in the UK

Immediate dissatisfaction in work seemed to stem less from lowered status in work than from poor relationships and discrimination in the workplace. Groups with whom respondents compared themselves in relation to discriminatory treatment varied with work context, and were sometimes locals and sometimes other migrants. The following examples demonstrate the range of experiences. I present the work experiences of fathers and mothers separately as gender differences in work are significant.

Fathers in several kinds of employment were in a position to make comparisons between employers' treatment of local and Polish workers. Two fathers work as kitchen assistants, Bartek in a restaurant and Kamil in a care home, but both described similar problems. For each, their bosses draw up a timetable of employees' shifts in advance and employees can request alterations to this and days off. Both fathers found that other workers were consistently prioritised in choice of shifts over themselves. These two fathers valued Sundays and festivals shared with their families, but were often scheduled to work on these days against their stated preferences and frequently only informed at the last minute about shift changes to this effect. Both fathers felt that this situation was a result of their employer allocating them a lower status as Polish migrants lacking good English language. Directly affecting and disrupting their family's time together, both fathers see this as a major problem with their current employment and lives. However, with the economic crisis emerging at the time of the second interviews in 2010-11, neither father felt confident that they would be able to change to better work in the near future, and both valued the security of this employment despite its drawbacks.

Different experiences of discrimination were described by fathers working in the construction industry, a sector particularly affected by the economic crisis. While self-employed construction workers recognised that lack of English language put them at a disadvantage in competing for work, for those working as contractors for

building firms the situation was more clear-cut as they were aware that if they lost their job it would be highly difficult to find another one in the current climate without English language. Robert (see case study 2), who works as a joiner for a large construction firm, noted that in his firm better work and contracts were allocated to Scottish workers than to Polish (see also Friberg, 2012 in relation to Polish workers in Norway).

A third set of problems were described by fathers working for a recycling company, where many of the workers were Polish and bad feeling had developed among Polish employees. Polish migrants had attained different employment levels within the company, some worked at supervisory level while others were operatives, making room for comparisons between the employment status and conditions offered to different Polish workers (again, see similar in Friberg, 2012). Some Polish workers were offered permanent contracts while others remained for long periods on agency contracts, which provided the usual route of entry to this work and some had been recruited through Polish acquaintances. Those on agency contracts worked significantly longer than their contracted hours, but felt unable to complain. Bad feeling arose between Polish workers and Polish supervisors and some workers' contracts had been terminated, souring the atmosphere further. Józef describes asking to move to a different site to work alongside Scottish workers to remove himself from this situation. Although the new work was more hazardous, he was satisfied with it:

> Where I used to work, I worked only with Polish people. The manager and the supervisor were Polish and they would often wind me up and make me do unnecessary things. Right now, both the manager and the supervisor are Scottish and the work atmosphere is completely different. I cared mostly about having this peace of mind. This work feels entirely better. Even though the job itself is more demanding - I work sorting rubbish; the material is worse and more difficult, and more dangerous. (Józef, translated)

This problem at work contributed to the attitudes that these fathers adopted towards Polish migrants more widely, making them more wary and less trusting of Poles they didn't know personally (Garapich, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2008a).

A different problem again was described by Mikolai, who worked as a painter for a large building company. While satisfied with his work in general, he was increasingly aware that although he did exactly the same job as the Scottish workers he worked alongside, the national qualification in Painting and Decorating they had attained meant that they were paid at a higher rate than him. While he was considering enrolling in evening classes to gain this vocational qualification, long hours of work and the demands of two young children made this problematic.

Mothers working as cleaners: factors influencing satisfaction

Of the seventeen mothers in families who arrived with children and in which both parents lack fluent English, fourteen are in deskilled paid work, two are currently not in paid work and only one mother utilises her skills from Poland, working as a seamstress. Eleven of the mothers who have deskilled worked as cleaners or housekeepers in private homes, offices, shops or hotels during the study year; in contrast, none of the mothers who had fluent English worked as cleaners. Two further mothers work in a laundry and one, Renata, described above, who was a teacher in Poland, works as a classroom assistant, having 'deskilled' to a lower status job within her original field.

For those mothers working as cleaners and housekeepers satisfaction levels depended to a great extent on the atmosphere and conditions at work, and these in turn on personal relationships with managers, employers and fellow workers. Most mothers had managed to access work with hours which coordinated with their partners' working hours and with child-care requirements, and some had formed good relationships with employers and other employees, sometimes resulting in the ability to negotiate over hours. Hours of work and relationships were the two main factors

described in relation to satisfaction with work. Most of the mothers however saw cleaning work as temporary, and were working on their English in order to find better work in the future.

Mariola (see case study 2), working as housekeeper in a hotel, was unhappy about the situation at her work. She had been turned down for promotion, and while she was aware of the need to improve her English in order to achieve further advancement, she felt that it was being Polish in itself that lay behind her slower progression relative to Scottish employees. Two further mothers who worked in a laundry were aware of racist comments made by fellow employees, but neither felt in a position to take action on this, lacking language confidence and valuing job security.

Summary of causes of satisfaction at work

Looking at the overall patterns relating to satisfaction at work, it is clear that, while not being able to make use of skills or qualifications attained in Poland is seen as a necessary sacrifice to pay for the benefits of migration, deskilled work is generally seen as satisfactory for the short term if it is secure and pays well enough to support the family. Amelia, a lone parent working as a cleaner, points out that accessing her preferred career is not a priority:

> I want to do anything, because I think about money, about money for my family, for food, for a flat, for everything, you know. I don't think what I *want* to do, I think about what I *can* do. (Amelia)

Dissatisfaction with work stems primarily from day to day relationships at work and status relative to other workers. Where discrimination is perceived, as well as making for unhappiness and frustration, it can foster negative attitudes and influence migrants' relationships with and attitudes to particular groups in wider society. Where a Polish supervisor treats Polish workers unfairly and Polish workers compete for work contracts aggressively, other Poles may as a result be seen as untrustworthy.

Where discrimination against Polish workers relative to Scots workers is perceived, awareness of negative attitudes to Polish workers and racism in society more widely is heightened.

The importance of respect and good relationships at work, evident among respondents in this study is also described by White who gives an example of a participant in her study who compares her cleaning work in England favourably with more responsible work dealing with accounts for a wholesaler in Poland, because she feels more appreciated by her employer in the UK (White, 2011b p156). Relationships at work are similarly highlighted by a Polish worker in Friberg's Norwegian study, discussing changing between jobs:

> 'Most importantly, the comfort of work changed. Now I like to go to work, I like my boss. I have good relationships with clients'. (Friberg, 2012 p1601)

White finds that her interviewees usually found positive things to say about their work in the UK and that these related, as well as to the ability to live more easily on a British wage, from 'social aspects of the job' and feeling 'that their labour was respected' (White, 2011b p164).

It might be anticipated that work satisfaction will depend on factors such as the degree of autonomy at work and the level of stimulation and fulfilment it provides, and that deskilling will usually result in dissatisfaction from losses on these kinds of measures. Perhaps the reason why respondents did not mention lack of work satisfaction as a negative side of deskilling was simply that it was too obvious. But it is possible also that for parents who prioritise providing a reliable and secure income for families, and establishing themselves in Edinburgh, on achieving a good quality of life and securing the best chances for their children's futures, the reduction in stress and responsibility that comes with lower-status, less demanding work, may be seen as acceptable or even perhaps preferable to more stressful and demanding work, as long as it provides a reliable income. Green (2006), investigating recent trends in employment more generally finds that more highly-skilled work is linked to 'work

intensification', and does not necessarily correlate with greater work satisfaction, a finding in keeping with my respondents' feelings. Certainly in interviews, issues highlighted related more to the quality of relationships at work and hours fitting well with family life, than, for the moment at least, to work fulfilment.

National norms of behaviour

Beyond work, every day experiences of other people in public spaces are important to assessments of living in a particular place, and respondents often raised such experiences in Edinburgh as important to their assessment of the outcomes of migration. Norms of behaviour in the street, on public transport and by customer service operatives were frequently highlighted in explaining the differences between Scotland and Poland, with local people in Edinburgh found to be considerably more friendly and helpful (for similar in relation to Northern Ireland see Svasek, 2009). Most respondents commented on this difference, describing for example how, on returning to Poland for holidays, they were dismayed by people's behaviour there:

> Here, when you walk into the airport someone immediately asks you if they can help you in any way - that immediately creates a totally different atmosphere. As soon as you get off the plane in Poland you are met by boorishness and rudeness emanating from everyone. (Amelia, translated)

Mothers of young children compared compliments and assistance received from strangers in Edinburgh with criticisms and unhelpfulness in Poland, and respondents commonly mentioned the friendliness of strangers on buses, and commented on their surprise when, for example, bus drivers and passport officials smiled and greeted customers.

> When you try to sort something out in a government office they will be very arrogant, while here everybody's nice to you all the time, and even if it's professional niceness, they still are. My mum was really enchanted at how nice everyone is about the children here, just stopping, like on the bus, and asking about

them. At first she had reservations, because in Poland if someone does that it's a bit suspicious. (Agnieszka, translated)

Others too commented on the substantial difference in personal experiences of bureaucratic contexts (see also Nowicka, 2012). For new migrants who are setting up bank accounts, housing and utilities contracts and council tax payments, these interactions constitute an introduction to UK norms:

> Here systems are in place to help ordinary people, while in Poland it seems that everything there is designed to be an obstacle to you. [..] It's an entirely different culture here and I feel much happier about it [..] I like the fact that you can make an appointment and they will devote their time to you and only you. You don't have to spend two hours waiting in a queue just to hand in a document, only to be told by the woman sitting there that she can't accept it because there's one small thing missing. And I would ask, 'Since this is my second time in here, why didn't you tell me that the first time I was here?' But no, I need to come back the following day and stand in this same queue. (Irena, translated)

> Here you can meet very helpful people. It's quite easy to set up some things. In Poland it's so difficult. When you come to the office they treat you like a potential thief, you know, as if you are hiding something. I like it here, because it's quite difficult sometimes to do [things] and they are very helpful about explaining [things]; they are smiling all the time. In Poland it's not good. And you know that if you're going to the council or something, you're going to have a bad day! (Grażyna)

Relationships with other Polish migrants

Lack of English language fluency makes forming meaningful friendships with local people difficult as well as impeding access to job opportunities and practical information in many areas of life. Just one local friend can make all the difference. Accessing housing for respondent families, for example, often turned on a particular friend or colleague who assisted with an application for social housing. If, however, the majority of parents' practical information is gained through Polish contacts and

UK-based Polish websites, these can potentially provide restricted, distorted or incorrect information, and inaccuracies may potentially be amplified in passing through several intermediaries. The temptation in describing processes of information dissemination might be to describe it as transmitted by or among the 'Polish community', but for information to be accessed through websites and individuals does not necessarily require 'community', in the sense of a group of people who meet or are acquainted with each other, for discourses and understandings to be shared.

Several surprising and sometimes inaccurate discourses and beliefs were evident in respondents' accounts, some of these common to several families. These included both attitudes to UK society and beliefs and interpretations of practical information, and seemed likely to have arisen through use of shared information sources and exchanges of ideas within Polish networks. For example, Daria was worried about rumours of legislative change in relation to immigrant children:

> It worries us a bit that in about two years they will have changes to the system that the kids will be able to attend [school] only if they know some main English. That's what we heard. (Daria)

Emilia and Bartek have applied for papers to prove their residency in the UK. They explain to me that they felt these would assist both with accessing employment and with their application for social housing, for which they were previously turned down, as it will demonstrate their serious intention to settle in Edinburgh.

Two contrasting discourses were evident in relation to other Poles in the UK. Respondents commonly described their lack of trust and desire to avoid other Polish migrants, but also appeared, paradoxically, to trust and form networks exclusively with other Polish migrants. Simultaneous adoption of these two apparently contradictory attitudes has also been highlighted by other research in relation to Polish migrants (Bielewska, 2011; Ryan *et al.*, 2009a; Svasek, 2009). Although attitudes towards other Polish migrants in general are often negative, language limitations may restrict potential social networks in the UK to other Polish migrants.

Most respondents had found people in Edinburgh whom they felt to be good and trustworthy Polish contacts and close friends, but trust in Polish migrants locally is restricted to these familiar individuals.

All respondents had Polish friends in Edinburgh, and these were made in a variety of contexts. Several parents with younger children attended one of the weekly Polish clubs, which offered English lessons, children's activities and an opportunity to sit and chat over coffee or a meal with other Polish parents. Some others attended Polish masses at a local Catholic church, and the church I visited organised coffee and cakes for the Polish congregation afterwards. Some had made friends with other Polish migrants through employment where most workers were migrants, and others through meeting other Polish parents when picking up their children from school. A few described how they had simply run into other Poles in shops or public places and had fallen into conversations that led to friendships. Two mothers had specifically and successfully sought local Polish friends through web forums. Almost all respondents, however, said that they already had enough trustworthy Polish friendships, and had no need or desire to meet further Polish migrants. Reasons for this included having found from experience that other Poles could 'stab you in the back' over work or housing, were preoccupied with making money, or were 'closed' in their attitudes (see Chapter 7), not wanting to meet new people or experience new things, or that their behaviour earned Polish migrants a bad name.

Kinga and Zuzanna both struggle to explain why they feel negatively towards other Polish migrants:

> Before, when I saw Polish people I wanted everybody to speak to me because I didn't know anybody, but after that it didn't matter; I saw that sometimes there are different - I don't know how to say - it's difficult to know these people. (Kinga)

> I don't know if I would want to meet more Poles living here, because it's hard to find Polish people you could be friends with. A lot of Polish people change once they come here. They become very full of themselves. A lot of them are doing all

> sorts of shady business, and then there are those who already feel 100% Scottish, and there is no way to have a normal conversation with them. (Zuzanna, translated)

Adam is second-generation Polish, but his partner, Hania, migrated from Poland after 2004. They have Polish friends, but he is outspoken about his negative feelings towards Polish migrants in general:

> All they think about is money, money, money and how to rip people off. [..] I have Polish friends here, but the Polish people I do have contact with have got exactly the same opinions as me. (Adam)

Housing preferences and resulting restricted social opportunities

Coming from Poland, migrants' attitudes and preferences over housing differ from those dominant among the British population. One respondent explained that, to his parents and friends in Poland, living with his partner and children in a privately-rented flat on a six-month lease in Edinburgh seemed highly insecure and almost akin to being homeless. Security of tenure is a high priority for many of the parents interviewed. This attitude seems likely to stem from the norm in Poland during the communist era whereby housing was tied to secure employment; over the post-communist transition period, this kind of housing was largely transferred to private ownership; private rentals are much less common in Poland than in the UK - in 2009, in Poland 2.2% of the population lived in market-price rentals, compared to 12.5% in the UK (EUROSTAT, 2013). While the traditional employment-tied housing blocks in Poland at first glance look much like social housing in Edinburgh, their residents are drawn from a wider social mix, so that migrants do not always immediately recognise that social housing in the UK is occupied by people from a poorer social status. Social housing in Poland lacks the stigma that developed in the UK after the introduction of the 'right to buy' in the 1980s resulted in residualisation of social housing (Forrest and Murie, 1988). Most Group 2 families were very keen to access social housing soon after arrival, seeing security of tenure as fundamentally important and perhaps only later becoming aware of the social characteristics of the

neighbourhoods in which they found themselves. As a result the behaviour of inhabitants in respondents' neighbourhoods often disappoint and sometimes shock them, and lead them to develop negative perceptions of British norms of behaviour in general. Two mothers commented that they were surprised to see young children out on the street in the evenings without supervision:

> I think many, many Scottish mothers are not really work[ing] for their children – not really nice, because in my area, [there are] children at 10 o'clock [in the evening] in the street in their nappies and nobody is watching them. My children go to sleep at 7.30. (Dominika)

Respondents living in areas of predominantly social housing described incidents of racist abuse from neighbours, rubbish left on the streets, vandalism and theft of property. They were aware of local young people in the street at night, noisy and drunk and of drug use and several described neighbours who apparently live on benefits but do not seek work.

Dagmara and Bruno run a delicatessen, and this has given them an overview of the experiences of other Polish migrant families. Dagmara foresees a problem generated for their children's futures from Polish families living in areas of social housing:

> **Dagmara:** In Scotland, people who are very poor live like people in Poland who are not so bad, and Polish people came here and they applied for a social flat and they moved to Granton, and they didn't realise - this is my opinion, just my opinion - they didn't realise that their children will be growing up in Granton or some area like this, they will be growing with the - not good, you know..
> **Lucy:** *The social group around them..?*
> **Dagmara:** Yes, and the child closing, and giving no chance to maybe be somebody else, somebody who can live differently.

Overt problems in neighbourhoods are usually limited to minor vandalism and observation of unacceptable behaviours by other locals and this does not prevent families from finding neighbours with whom they can form friendships - albeit relationships that are restricted by communication difficulties. One couple felt that

problems with the neighbourhood were sufficient to justify looking for housing elsewhere and another family had already moved within the social-housing transfer scheme, after finding their first area unpleasant. Most respondents were aware of the reputation of their locality, but usually this was not considered a major problem. Friendships with other Polish families nearby generated a motivation for staying:

> **Lucy:** *Are you happy with living in this area and staying here?*
> **Iwona and Bruno:** Yes
> **Karolina (their daughter):** It's really quiet. Because Granton - some say it's the most dangerous area in Edinburgh, and you can get killed and stuff - but it's not that bad. It's really nice, there are lots of Polish people around and we have neighbours next door who are Polish - they work at [supermarket]

Children and integration

Most respondents' children attend Roman Catholic schools, and this also affects their lives and social circles. Once at High School (starting at age 12), most of the children in the study group travel to a Catholic school at a distance from home, and as a result socialise less with children in their local neighbourhood. Most attended the same Catholic secondary school, which has a high proportion of Polish pupils. This was seen as a problem by several parents and some children, who found that friendships were limited to other Polish children and it was difficult to break out of the ethnic group, (this phenomenon was also noted by Heath *et al.*, 2012). Some parents opted for non-denominational schools for their children for this reason; the respondent children at non-denominational schools all appeared to form friendships with Scottish children, and some were very proud of their language skill and Scottish accents. Zuzanna, for example, describes how much her teenage daughter wants to be seen as Scottish:

> [My daughter] would do anything to be Scottish. She's always really happy when - this one time she went with her friend to a Scottish household of adults and they told

her that she speaks very well, that her accent doesn't stand out, she was extremely pleased. (Zuzanna, translated)

Younger children at Roman Catholic primary schools appeared to make friends with locals and Polish children alike, and this was often evident in their fluent English language and strong Scottish accents (again see Heath *et al.*, 2012).

Children's experiences and age on arrival

Several of the children in Group 2 families were teenagers when they migrated, and parents often hope that finishing their education in the UK, learning English and attaining British qualifications, will give them better opportunities than they would have had in Poland. For children who were of secondary school age on arrival, and who spoke only basic school-learned English then, having to take public exams only two or three years later presents a big challenge, and this is exacerbated if they do not speak English frequently, and in particular when their school friends are predominantly other Polish children (see also White, 2009a). Understanding the Scottish education and qualification system can also be difficult for parents, particularly as it differs greatly from the Polish system (Moskal, 2010) and parents who do not speak English may over-estimate their children's English language skills, when they see their children apparently communicating confidently in English; these factors make it difficult for parents to assess their children's progress. Incorrect grammar or vocabulary can provide a major obstacle to performance in public exams, and several children were disappointed that their results were worse than they had anticipated. Other teenagers in the group, however, said they found the curriculum easy relative to that in Poland (see again Moskal, 2010), and appeared to deal with language issues without problem.

Friendship

Several respondents' accounts highlighted the fact that friendships occur at different levels of closeness (the Polish language, with three different words for levels of friendship, allows better for this than English) and that close friendships are more difficult to achieve with barriers of language and culture. Carrying out second interviews in the study enabled some exploration of the kinds of relationships respondents described. While several teenage children said that they had made friends with locals, these friendships were often clearly less close than those with Polish children. Karolina, who was seventeen, described herself in the interview as having made Scottish friends at school over her four years in Edinburgh, but later suggested that she had only recently made her first close Scottish friend and begun to find out about Scottish social life through a friendship at FE college:

> I'm working in a salon, and I've actually made good friends with a Scottish person. I went out with her to a party, and it's quite good to know the other side of the world basically, because, like, I got a chance to go out with a Scottish person, instead of going out with a Polish person, like doing the same things over and over again that I did in Poland, and I got a chance to see something different. (Karolina)

Several parents described their frustration that, lacking fluency in English, their friendships with locals were often limited to brief greetings. Patryk describes their limited communication with neighbours:

> All we say to each other is, 'Hello' and 'Good bye', 'Hi' and the like. Sometimes we say 'How are you?' and they reply, 'Not bad, not bad.' And that's that, and everybody goes their separate ways. To me language is of great importance.
> (Patryk, translated)

Working long hours, often alongside Polish or other migrants, for many there is little time or opportunity to form meaningful relationships with anyone outside of work, local or Polish (see also Ryan *et al.*, 2009a; Schneider and Holman, 2011):

> We have some Polish friends staying in the flat above us and we often invite them round, or try to arrange a time to meet up - (whistles) but there is no time for that, no time at all. They're working and we're working. Either they're out somewhere, or we just want to stay in. There's not even enough time to meet up with the neighbours. (Patryk, translated)

Mikolai, despite deliberately working hard at language and communicating confidently with locals at work (the local influence evident here in his use of the Scots 'cannae') explains that a lack of long-term trusting friendships impacts on your life instrumentally:

> **Mikolai:** I know people in Poland. I can do much more in Poland than here. If I want to buy a car in Poland, I go to my friend and I say 'Hi, how're you doing!' We speak about this and, 'OK!' and I've got car. And here I must phone somebody, arrange a meeting, and I cannae do that myself here.

Respondents often mention that they bought furniture or baby equipment from other Polish migrants in Edinburgh, through the websites 'emito.net' or 'Gumtree', demonstrating their greater trust in and ease of communication with Polish migrants over locals in such transactions.

Several respondents spoke enthusiastically about finding out about local customs and adopting them. At the time of several interviews in October, children were introducing parents to Halloween, and parents were helping with making 'guising' costumes and 'jack o' lanterns'. One father who is a singer and guitarist sought out Scottish folk music to listen to and to incorporate into his own repertoire; a mother enthusiastically described attending a ceilidh (Scottish dance) and another commented that she would like her son to wear a kilt to a family wedding in Poland - the family also have a family portrait in Scottish highland costume on their living room wall. Bartek pointed out the contrast he observes between his Polish friends in England and those in Scotland; while Polish migrants in Scotland are keen to adopt 'Scottishness' (if also maintaining 'Polishness'), he observed no equivalent among Polish acquaintances in England; this perhaps reflects the shared characteristics of

Scotland and Poland discussed in Chapter 1, as well as the greater accessibility of cultural representations of Scotland (tartan, bagpipes etc.) particularly evident in a tourist city such as Edinburgh.

Case studies

In this section I present three respondent families in more detail, highlighting the differences between them in terms of the reference groups or points they prioritise. All three families migrated with their children, the parents all lack strong English, and all the families live in an area of predominantly social-housing. The first family describe themselves as very happily settled in Edinburgh; the primary point for comparison in the interview is the family's previous life in Poland. For the second family, things are going badly at the time of the second interview, and, perhaps as a result, they appear less positive about living in Edinburgh than at their first interview; their dissatisfaction appears to stem from comparisons they make between themselves and local people they work alongside. The third family are highly determined to integrate and are working hard at English; they compare themselves with both Poles and locals, and it is within the local group that they wish to place themselves. The accounts of these three families illustrate how personal characteristics and particular aspects of life influence the reference points or groups prioritised, and how these affect satisfaction with the migration project.

1. Irena

Irena had just turned 50 when she migrated to Edinburgh in 2008. She is a lone parent and lives with her 15 year old daughter, Felicja, in a 1960s social housing block on the outskirts of Edinburgh. Although the common hallway is bare concrete and not well-cleaned, the external walkway to Irena's flat and her living room present panoramic views over Edinburgh and the surrounding countryside. Irena also has two adult sons who are in Poland at the time of our first interview; by the second interview one son, after looking for and failing to find work in Poland, has moved to

London and works in computing there. Her other son, his girlfriend and their baby still live in Poland. By the time of the second interview Irena has bought a computer and so can talk to them via Skype.

In Poland Irena's job in a care home had sometimes required her to work nights at short notice, which meant she had to leave her daughter alone at night. She had lost this job and had started a shop selling chemical household products, which had failed. After this she took a door-to-door sales job, which while being exhausting, had brought in so little profit she decided it wasn't worth while. This had clearly been a highly stressful and difficult period for her. In Edinburgh, Irena found work through a friend as cleaner in a hotel, forming part of a national hotel chain, putting her immediately in a much better situation:

> I don't have to sit in the kitchen and worry whether I should buy bread or milk. Even though I was working back in Poland, and working hard at that, I could hardly afford anything. And although I'm not [yet] getting working tax credit, I can manage. Perhaps I am a little less well-off, but it is a completely different story than it was in Poland. There I constantly had only one thing on my mind - what to make for dinner for my children. Now, when I think about it from a distance, I ask myself how I could live like that. Why didn't I do anything about it sooner?

Irena had agreed with Felicja that they would try living in Edinburgh for six months, and then Felicja could decide whether she wanted to stay, but Felicja was convinced she wanted to stay after only a month. Throughout her interview Irena emphasises how glad she is to be here, simply because she can earn enough money here to get by - something she couldn't do in Poland. She dismisses my questions about her attitudes to British life as insignificant in comparison to the simple fact of being financially secure. She has been decorating and furnishing the flat as and when she can afford it, but was recently surprised and delighted when the council offered to install a new kitchen, and was amazed to be even asked to choose colours and styles. At the time of the first interview she is finding work difficult, as it involves making beds and cleaning rooms, but by the second, she has moved to cleaning the reception areas at the hotel, which she finds better.

Felicja is happy with school here and speaks English well enough to help her mother out with practicalities. Her two closest friends are daughters of her mother's Polish friends. The difference between their friendships with other Poles and those they have with locals is apparent from Irena's account:

> Felicja talks to Scottish girls at school, but most of the time she hangs out with Polish children. I don't know why that is. [..] Outside of school, though, she spends time with Basia, just like I spend time with her parents. They are a normal, decent family. They have got their heads on straight. I am sorry that I am emphasizing that so much, but it's very important to me. And then there's Łucja and her family, and that's all. Those are my friends here, and I am not looking for more, because that's enough for me. I don't need any more acquaintances or relationships. I'm happy with what I've got. Felicja and Basia are very close and Basia has a sister too, and that seems to be enough. She doesn't need more than that. At school she has no problems talking to other girls. She especially likes one of them, Jessica, and that's all. She doesn't really see them outside of school. She's never been to a Scottish house. Besides, I don't think that that's the custom here - for children to invite each other round. I'm not sure how it works here.

Irena emphasises the difference migration has made to her personally: she is much calmer, no longer constantly stressed and worrying. She feels she has been able to start afresh here; reaching 50 in Poland and out of work, she had felt that her working life was over. She assesses the work situation to be deteriorating in Poland. When I ask, she also agrees that Polish society is much less tolerant towards single-mothers.

Irena has had some difficulties with neighbours in Edinburgh. A woman next door has a mental health problem, and while she is sometimes helpful and friendly, she has made complaints about Irena to the council, which apparently have no basis in fact. She also describes how Felicja and her friends were once threatened by neighbour in the lift.

Irena speaks only basic English and feels that she is too old to learn, although she recognises that lack of language is an obstacle to engagement in local activities. She

says however that her work colleagues have helped her overcome communication problems with 'kindness and body-language'. She talks positively about multiculturalism in Edinburgh, and how it opens up new experiences for her, giving examples of the mix of people she has encountered and new cultural experiences in their lives, such as celebrating Halloween.

In Irena's interview, the comparison with the insecure and stressful life she had in Poland is ever present. Contact with her son(s) in Poland gives her a regular reminder of the financial difficulties there and their impact on everyday life. As a single parent in her 50s, security and a calm life are her highest priorities and Edinburgh has offered her these. For the moment at least, her social network of other Polish families and her own children, and her secure job and housing are sufficient for Irena to feel contented about her life. Neither she nor her daughter have many interactions with local people or seek to do this more, but she finds people she encounters at work and in public kind and helpful, enabling her to access everything she needs easily.

2. Mariola and Robert

Mariola and Robert live in a 1930s social housing block in an area of similar housing to Irena. Their son, Radek is 15 and their daughter, Klara, 10; Mariola's mother migrated with the family and also lives with them. Mariola is a housekeeper in the same hotel as Irena, and Robert works as a joiner for a national construction firm. In Łódź they ran a family wholesale clothing business, but when this failed they couldn't find alternative work. Mariola came a few months ahead of the rest of the family in 2005 to find work and a flat for them before they joined her. Mariola has made a conscious effort to improve her English, but Robert, who has only basic English, says that he is never going to learn and appears not to be making any effort to learn. Travelling long distances to work and working alongside other Polish migrants, he has little time and energy or immediate need to do so. Robert appears unenthusiastic about Scotland and Mariola's mother would also prefer to return to Poland, but while she has a flat there, there are no other family members living in their home town.

At the time of the first interview Mariola is satisfied with work; she has recently been promoted to housekeeper level, but is concerned that language may be an obstacle to further promotion. At the second interview she says she is considering applying for citizenship as she suspects that being Polish is itself an obstacle to advancement. She has noticed that Scottish colleagues, who have been assessed as performing less well than her, are nevertheless more successful in gaining promotion.

Robert works alongside both Polish and Scottish workers, and he similarly observes that when both better-paid piece-work and less desirable hourly-paid work are being allocated, Scottish workers are always given the piece-work. On the day of the second interview Robert has been advised that his work contract is being terminated and henceforth he will only be employed on a weekly basis. Again he notes that while Polish workers' contracts have been terminated - and he is unusual among them in having been offered any further work - all of the Scottish workers have been kept on.

These problems at work seem to have heightened the couple's awareness of racism and hostility to Polish immigrants more widely. Mariola summarises their impression from the media:

> You hear on TV all the time all that, that Polish people are taking the jobs and they never should have come here. All that, it drives this kind of feeling that they don't like us here. [..] We have this feeling that.. we hear that it is Polish people that are guilty of everything. That we are to blame for everything, even that it rains all the time is also our fault. .. that we drag the wages down (Mariola)

Anti-Polish attitudes among locals have also been an issue for Radek, who changed school after incidents between Polish and local boys in his Catholic high school class. His friends, in and out of school, are mainly Polish, and this is perhaps why he is not very fluent in English. He has a girlfriend in Poland, whom he met while on holiday there, and he visits Poland every school holiday, either alone or with his grandmother, staying in his grandmother's flat there. Klara attends the local Catholic

primary school and has a mix of local friends, including a Venezuelan neighbour. Two of Klara's classmates live nearby, but her mother doesn't let Klara visit them, as she feels the housing area where they live to be unsafe. Having observed the behaviour of children who live in the street, Mariola prefers Klara not to play with them either. Klara speaks English fluently with a strong Scottish accent.

This couple were unusual in the study group in becoming less positive about life in Edinburgh over the year. While at the first interview Mariola stated a firm intention to settle permanently in Edinburgh, at the second, both parents express dissatisfaction, focusing on discrimination at work and racism in society more generally. However, events of the day of the interview at Robert's work may have shaken their sense of security and mean that the views they expressed may not reflect those they hold over the longer term.

Mariola and Robert, in contrast to Irena, do not focus heavily on their previous life in Poland. They have both managed to access skilled or semi-skilled work in Edinburgh, while 'deskilling' from their Polish employment. They socialise almost exclusively with other Polish migrants, most of whom work in unskilled employment, providing them with a reference group among whom their work-status rates highly. They work, however, alongside both Polish and local workers, leading to comparisons with local workers against whom they see Polish migrants faring poorly as a result of discrimination. Witnessing discrimination at work has heightened their awareness of racist attitudes more generally, making them feel less welcome. Robert's ideal would be to return to Poland, and his lack of effort to learn English perhaps reflects this, as well as relating to long hours of work. He is not prepared to adopt local workers as his reference group and to compete with them, but sets himself within the group of Polish migrant workers, compared to whom he is performing well, in doing so making a reference group choice that perhaps results from the 'pleasure principle' (see Chapter 2). Mariola, on the other hand, seems determined to make things work in Edinburgh and to compete and interact with local people on their own terms; as a result she is currently seeking out English and citizenship classes, hoping these will assist her in achieving comparably to her

British counterparts and demonstrating her adoption of a reference group of local workers, stemming from her aspiration to achieve well in relation to this group.

3. Ela and Łukasz

Ela and Łukasz live in a privately rented flat with their two daughters who are 5 and 11. Interviews take place in their living room, which, while average in size, contains a dining table, a sofa and 3 armchairs, two desks and a double bed, as well as boxes stacked around the walls. The overall impression is cosy and cluttered. A Polish friend, Kacper, who also lives there, sits in on the first interview, and the children participate in the second.

Łukasz dominates in the interviews and refuses to translate for Ela, even though she speaks very little English at the time of first interview; at the second interview they explain that this is part of a family-agreed strategy to help her improve her English quickly. Similarly to other fathers who migrated alone leaving families behind in Poland, his English is often grammatically incorrect, but he is confident and effective in communication. The family, in contrast to the other two case-study families, only watch British television (with English subtitles), and he stresses that this is also a strategy for improving their English.

Łukasz migrated to Scotland in 2006, leaving Ela and the children in Poland, and they joined him in August 2009, just a few months before the first interview. He had spent the four years prior to migration also working away from home, both in Poland and elsewhere. Migrating to Scotland has enabled the family to live together for the first time for several years. Both parents stress the importance of being able to spend more time with the children and seem highly involved in their children's activities and school work. They emphasise that life is easier here, giving them more leisure time together; on Sundays they drive together to visit places in Scotland.

Łukasz is a self-employed electrician and works with two Scottish tradesmen. Ela has a degree in textiles and is working part-time for a tailor in the city centre. Łukasz

gained vocational school qualifications as an electrician, but then took a degree in Economics and utilised this in employment in Poland for ten years, before deskilling there to work as an electrician and joiner. At the time of the second interview, due to the impact of the recession, both parents are working fewer hours than they would like.

Łukasz is very keen to meet local people and expresses negative attitudes towards other Poles, both in Poland and Edinburgh. He describes how people in Poland have unrealistic expectations that migrants to the UK will be rich, and this made life difficult for his wife before she joined him and asserts that he has no interest in returning, and that if he left the UK he would rather go somewhere else. He prefers not to socialise with Polish people in Edinburgh, characterising them as interested only in money and possessions, and not in meeting local people and experiencing a new culture:

> **Łukasz:** For me, I really don't need to meet Polish people. I have a few Polish friends, but that's all, because sometimes there are stupid situations when you are going and just talking about 'You have [this], .. maybe I'm better, maybe I have lots'. I'm not happy about this. Sometimes, definitely with Polish people. it's a big important [thing] - how much you have, what you're doing.
> **Kacper: '**Do you have a car? Maybe you've got two cars? I've got two cars, maybe you've got three, so you're better than me.' Things like this..
> **Łukasz:** Sometimes you're meeting people [who say] to you 'For what am I learning English? I don't know English, that's perfect for me.' Lots of people here - maybe not lots, 50% definitely, they come here and they definitely don't know for what.

But while Łukasz does not emphasise the fact, he also has Polish friends, as is evidenced from his suggestion of a friend who I can interview for the study; Łukasz is at this friend's house helping out with joinery, when I arrive for an interview.

The family live in the same area of predominantly social-housing as the other two families, and wish to stay there despite being aware of its poor reputation:

Kacper: We have had no problems here, actually, with people or things like that, but we know that this area is not very good.

Łukasz: Not at this moment. Before, definitely this area had bad experiences.

Lucy: *You had a bad experience here?*

Łukasz: Not me, but I know people before me, a lot of people telling me this area is very bad.

Kacper: This is a bad area. [..]

Lucy: *So would you like to stay in this area or move to a different area?*

Łukasz: For me. I'm staying here. Yeah, definitely. I've lived in this area around three years. I don't want to change.

At the time of the second interview they are worried about losing their flat as the landlord has decided to sell. They'd like to buy it, but are unsure about taking on a mortgage with work scarce.

During the year, their older daughter starts at the local non-denominational state secondary school. They say that they made a definite decision not to send the children to the Catholic school as they feel that the large number of Polish children would limit them in socialising with local children. They are pleased that their younger daughter only has three Polish children in her year in primary school. The two children speak English confidently.

Ela and Łukasz are unusual among Group 2 families in adopting such a strong focus on language learning and integration, and unique in the fact that both parents utilise employment skills from Poland, even if they have both deskilled to some extent. Łukasz has formed a work network with local tradesmen and Ela works alongside other migrants from a variety of countries. Łukasz's attitude to other Polish people in general appears very negative, although he has Polish friends in Edinburgh. Their children attend the non-denominational school to assist them in integration. The reference groups they adopt prioritise local people, with a focus on aspiration, achieving well compared to locals and being pro-active in integration, with a view to engaging with local social groups. They also demonstrate the kind of 'virtuous circle'

in integration identified by White (2011b), with language improvement and integration successes reinforcing each other. Despite financial worries relating to both housing and work, they describe themselves as satisfied and happy with their situation.

Discussion of the case studies

These three families demonstrate different possibilities in adoption of reference groups as points of reference for comparison, and for identificational and aspirational purposes, and how these relate to satisfaction with the migration project.

Irena, perhaps because of her highly stressful pre-migration situation in Poland as older, unemployed and a lone parent, is content with life here; her main reference point remains, for the moment, Poland, and her comparisons encompass both her own life there prior to migration and her sons' lives there since. Mariola and Robert are both dissatisfied with their work situation, comparing themselves with local employees whom they see being given priority in accessing better work. Their perception of discrimination at work has made them more aware of hostility to Polish migrants in society more generally. While Robert's observation of discrimination against Polish local workers leads him to want to return to Poland, Mariola, in contrast, focuses on achieving among, and in relation to, local people in Edinburgh, hoping that by improving her English language and applying for British citizenship, she will be able to gain further promotion at work. Ela and Łukasz reject future reliance on social networks of Polish migrants here and contrast their values with those of other Polish migrants. They are determined to join local networks and have adopted their own strategies to improve their English to assist them; they have accessed jobs which utilise their skills from Poland, not solely among Polish workers, and with Łukasz working collaboratively with local tradesmen. Like Mariola, they prioritise local people as their primary reference group. Further, because, unusually, they are both utilising their skills from Poland in employment, they do not work the very long hours typical of unskilled employment, and this allows them more time to socialise and to travel around Scotland.

Summary

The above analysis suggests that Group 2 Polish parents are for the moment satisfied with life and work here as long as their working conditions and relationships are good, their jobs secure and the dominant comparisons they make are with their previous lives in Poland and with other Poles who have similar lifestyles and work situations. Over time, with improving English language skills and as they negotiate better relationships with employers, this group may access better work, and if as a result of this, they integrate more with locals, they are likely to adopt reference groups consisting of local people and this will be unproblematic if migrants' employment and housing situations also improve. If however migrants fail to access better work, because of, for example, continuing discrimination at work, lack of availability of work, or continuing poor English skills, while becoming more aware of local norms and adopting locals as a reference group for comparative purposes, or alternatively maintain Polish networks as a dominant reference group, but progress more slowly in employment or standard of living improvement than other Polish migrants, then it seems likely that they will become dissatisfied with the migration outcome.

This chapter has demonstrated how different experiences prior to migration, housing locations, personal characteristics and work environments, lead to the adoption of different reference groups and points. Even among a group who start out with relatively similar characteristics, migrating together with their children and lacking English language, there are many possibilities for trajectories in integration and settlement, and the adoption of differing reference groups can be seen to relate to these. Levels of satisfaction with life in Edinburgh, and, migrants' future plans for return or settlement may differ accordingly. In Chapter 8 I compare this group of respondents with the other groups in considering likelihood of return to Poland, and show that, while levels of satisfaction with life in Edinburgh may vary, there are however more critical factors likely to dominate their decision-making in relation to return.

Chapter 6: Work and Care - Choices and Opportunities

This chapter looks at how employment and child-care opportunities in the UK differ from those in Poland and at how they are relevant for families across my respondent group and finds that they have particular relevance to Group 1 families in which parents migrated before having children. I start by looking across the whole respondent group in relation to parents' work and care preferences. I relate parental preferences evident in interviews to their potential roots in influential norms in Poland, and then go on to explore how families' strategies are shaped by the options available to them in the UK. The analysis highlights that parents view their migration to the UK as having increased their control over choices in work and child-care options. While gains from migration arising purely from raised standard of living are relevant to all types of Polish migrant families, they are most critical to Group 2 older parents who provided the focus of Chapter 5, but in this chapter, I look beyond these purely financial gains, and focus on the increased opportunities for choice over family lifestyle[6] which arise from the structure of the employment market and of vocational training provision as well as from some other societal differences. I find that in particular, ease of access to, and flexibility of hours of, work and training are highly important to the strategies of Group 1 parents; young, highly educated and with good language skills, these parents are best placed and most highly motivated to take advantage of the options available to them, but with pre-school children they are the group also in most need of child-care provision.

I begin with a discussion of parental preferences across the group in relation to work and child-care. I look first at theoretical claims concerning societal developments which have impacted on gender-division of work in developed countries, and use these to identify ways in which differences between Poland and the UK may impact on the possibilities for migrant parents. Second, I look at the historical context in

[6] Again 'lifestyle' is used here to refer specifically to work and child-care patterns and division between partners.

which norms in relation to work and child-care have developed in Poland. I then present interview data from the study, starting with the different preferences respondents describe in relation to work and child-care and relating these to their potential origins. I then explore the strategies and patterns in relation to work and care adopted by parents, and relate these both to individual families' preferences and to societal difference between Poland and the UK. I find that respondents frequently attribute their ability to make choices they describe to societal differences between Poland and the UK, in ways that correspond closely to the discussed literature. In the final section of the chapter, I present case studies of individual families, to illustrate how couples' different preferences and situations lead them to adopt distinct lifestyles in negotiating child-care arrangements, the employment market and education in Edinburgh.

Parents belonging to Group 1 as defined in Chapter 4, who migrated as highly-educated single migrants, correspond to those migrants described by early post-accession research, as discussed in Chapter 1, typically arriving shortly after 2004 and initially taking unskilled manual work as, for example, kitchen assistants, waiting staff or in food-manufacture and packaging. Fihel and Kaczmarcyk (2009) in analysing overall trends among these highly-educated migrants, raise the concern that this migration wave was not an example of 'brain drain' from Poland so much as 'brain waste' - a term used to describe migrant deskilling in the destination country (Salt, 1997) which carries implications of a negative macro-economic assessment of the phenomenon. Nowicka (2012) proposes the term 'culture of suspension' for the dead-end lives in which these young migrants appear to be trapped. This chapter however presents the continuing story for some of those among this group who settled and started families, and who are beginning to take up opportunities in employment and training.

Family theory

As discussed in Chapter 2, changes in developed societies in recent decades have been associated with increased participation of women in paid work. In the UK the

proportion of women engaging in part time work has increased as a result of these changes, while in Poland, with considerably less availability of work with 'flexible' hours and greater financial insecurity, women are much more likely to work full-time. Further, in Poland discrimination in employment has been identified, resulting from the transition to a market economy and restricting access to work for women disproportionately. This general picture presents us with the differences between the context that emigrating couples are leaving behind and that to which they arrive. In analysing the relevance of these differences to couples with children, it is helpful to draw on family theory which pinpoints particular aspects of society which enable work and care lifestyle choices.

Preference theory (Hakim, 2000) asserts that women can be categorised as falling into three groups according to their preference over 'lifestyle' options, preferring to engage in full-time careers, to stay at home and look after children (and home), or to be 'adaptive', changing between these behaviours according to circumstance. Further, the theory claims that when societies fulfil a set of criteria associated with modernity this allows women to act on these preferences, but that until these criteria are/were met, and in societies where they are not, women were or are unable to act on them. The criteria Hakim identifies as necessary for a society to meet for this purpose include: availability of contraception, the establishment of equal opportunities in employment, the increase in white-collar work-force and reduction of traditional industry, the move from traditional full-time work to more flexible working conditions suitable for secondary earners, and the increasing importance of individual choice in increasingly affluent and individualistic societies

Comparing Poland and the UK, as has already been identified above and in Chapter 2 the two countries can be seen to differ in the extent to which they have met several of these criteria, with the UK ahead of Poland particularly in relation to flexibility of work, equal opportunities in employment, level of affluence and the 'individualistic' attitudes this generates, and availability of abortion, if not contraception. These differences suggest that couples' ability to realise their preferences over the arrangement of paid work and child-care are likely to be greater in the UK than

Poland, and respondents' own comparisons of their lives in Poland and the UK, as will be shown from interview responses, did, as we might expect, identify these societal criteria as having been achieved to a greater extent in the UK than in Poland. They highlight in particular that equal opportunities for women in employment, availability of flexible work suitable for mothers, and standards of living allowed by earnings, are not yet prevalent or substantive enough in Poland to allow most couples to make lifestyle choices based on work and care preferences. As a result, most couples with families continue to perceive the norm of dual-earner full-time work, established during the communist era, as their only option.

My analytical approach differs from that of preference theory in that I look at choices and attitudes of both parents rather than only of women (see Chapter 2), and also in that I explore how different ideologies influencing Polish culture as well as previous policy norms are likely to have shaped couples' preferences and expectations, rather than assuming innate differences in preference, as Hakim appears to do.

A consideration of Polish social attitudes and their historical roots (as discussed in Chapter 1), provides us with three potential institutions/ideologies which are likely to influence Polish parents' lifestyle preferences: Roman Catholicism, communism and its legacy, and 'Western' attitudes and ideals, which became increasingly influential in Poland in the 1990s and 2000s, through increased media, travel and trade links both with the US and with Europe as a result of membership of the EU. Considering these three potential influences on Polish parents' attitudes in turn, three different hypotheses concerning rationales for migration to the UK might be formulated. First, foregrounding the influence of Catholicism, it might be proposed that couples migrate to, or stay in, the UK, so that women can stay at home to raise children. The traditional discourse of 'Matka Polka' - translating as 'Polish mother' or 'Mother Poland' and dating back to 19th century nationalist struggles - emphasises mothers' responsibility for raising children in the Polish culture and Catholic tradition, and idealises motherhood through association with the Virgin Mary (Fidelis, 2004; Heinen and Portet, 2009; Ryan *et al.*, 2009b). Catholic and conservative attitudes are evident in Polish attitude surveys (De Henau, 2007; Treas and Widmer, 2000) having

seen a revival in the period immediately after the fall of communism in Poland. Migration might enable couples to live a traditional male-breadwinner family lifestyle primarily because of greater affluence in the UK and higher incomes relative to living costs.

Second, focusing on the influence of communism, the communist ideal that women with children should be engaged in full-time paid work, might lead couples to choose a dual-earner lifestyle. In this case, their reason to migrate to or to stay in the UK might include improved earnings, better career opportunities (including those resulting from greater availability of vocational training) and a better standard of living achievable in the UK. This second hypothesis (and equally my third hypothesis, see next paragraph) might appear to be supported by the high level of participation in work by migrant women shown in WRS data, with women constituting 44% of A8 migrants registering for work between 2004 and 2009 (UK Border Agency, 2009), although levels may, of course, change once migrants are settled and have children.

A third hypothesis might emphasise contemporary conceptualisations of gender-equality, with a focus on involvement of fathers in child-care and individual fulfilment through paid work, resulting in a preference for both partners to engage equally in paid work and child-care. When families are under financial pressure this preference may be hard to distinguish from the communist-influenced full-time dual-earner work norm, particularly if partners are both engaged in full-time professional employment. Adding to this difficulty, British policy discourse in recent decades around 'welfare to work' (providing a focus for 'New Labour' in the 1990s), and the commonly-employed rhetoric of 'hard working families' (Blair, 2004; Cameron, 2013) implicate the obligation for all adults to be in paid employment in contemporary British norms. However, if we turn now to look at an additional element in choices in relation to work and care, that of personal preference over who provides child-care, this assists in disentangling these influences on parents.

Polish policy norms in recent decades are likely to be relevant in relation to child-care preferences, and these differ from British norms, although in both countries attitudes and practices have evolved in recent decades. As described in Chapter 1, Polish policy, during the communist era and since, has allowed and supported mothers (albeit to an increasingly limited extent) to take three years leave from work after a baby is born, with employers obliged to keep posts open for them during this period. While state-subsidised child-care had been widely available in the early decades of communism, provision was reduced through the 1970s and 1980s and in the post-communist transition period the closure of child-care facilities by state-run industry and the end of central government child-care planning, meant that availability fell subtantially.With most mothers, as described above, feeling financial pressure to engage in paid work, grandmothers are very often involved in child-care and commonly take up the government-offered option of early retirement in order to assist with this. This practice is made workable partly by the fact that grandparents often live nearby or even share households with their adult children (Stenning *et al.*, 2010). While these practices are gradually changing in Poland and early-retirement options are being withdrawn, they have been long-standing, so that preferences and expectations are likely to be influenced by them.

A variety of different attitudes to child-care and work were evident from interviews and questionnaire responses, showing some parents to be more 'family centred' and others more 'work centred'. Discourses and recurring elements relating to these attitudes from interview data are next presented and discussed, starting with attitudes to child-care and then those to paid work. I then go on to identify the different strategies and lifestyles which are evident in the group and how these result from parental preferences in conjunction with couples' circumstances in Edinburgh.

It is worth noting here that lifestyles parents described in interviews did not always correspond with preferences as expressed on the questionnaire. One reason for this might be the relatively insecure and transient position families are in after migration, with employment, child-care and plans for the future all still at an interim stage. Parents also do not have easy access to the information and networks relating to

employment and child-care that long-term residents have. As a result, many adopt temporary adaptive strategies in work and care which may bear little relation to their long-term ideals. Another reason, discussed in Chapter 3, is a 'political-correctness bias' evident from questionnaire responses, whereby most parents state a preference for equal division of care and employment although this is not reflected in their choices in their lives as described in the interview.

In chapter 2, I identified from previous research three factors underlying attitudes in relation to gender-division of paid work and care:

- *Gender ideology*: The level of agreement with the idea that women have primary responsibility for child-care and other informal work in the home, while men are primarily responsible for financial family support.

- *Attitudes to Child-care* Beliefs and preferences about the implications for children and family of children being in professional or family-provided child-care.

- *Work-centrality* The perceived importance of engaging in paid work: self-fulfilment or economic necessity.

Questionnaires aimed to explore how parents stood on these measures and were used in comparing and contextualising analysis of their interview accounts.

Attitudes to child-care and work

Children's needs

A majority of parents, across the range of different views on *work-centrality* and *attitudes to childcare*, agreed that older pre-school children (although respondents varied in where they set the dividing age) benefit from socialising and education,

rather than simply 'care', and lose out if they stay at home until starting school. Several mothers contrasted the needs of children at different ages: family-care was commonly considered best for under 3s, but education by a professional presented as preferable for older pre-school children. This division in young children's care needs seems likely to reflect the three year maternity leave arrangements which respondents were accustomed to in Poland.

Lucy: *If you had a two year old, would it make a difference to you whether s/he stays with her grandma at home or goes to a nursery?*
Amelia: Well, naturally I would prefer if it was someone from the family, because I know that person well. I know what their approach to taking care of children is and whether they will do a good job at it. The teachers and guardians at kindergarten or nursery are strangers to me, and you know that all sorts of things have been known to happen. .. However, when it comes to the educational point of view, I would prefer kindergarten. That is more professional. At home, I am the one teaching my child - or my friend or relative. So yes, education-wise, nursery beats staying at home.
Lucy: *At what age do you think education becomes important?*
Amelia: It's important that a child is able to grasp what it is all about, so it would have to be around 4, 5 years old. [..] Everybody knows children learn best through play. [..] and I believe that this goes faster, smoother and better when they are in a group of peers rather than on their own.
(translated)

Zuzanna: [Our older daughter] went to kindergarten when she was three. I think that a child develops better among peers, not necessarily at home. Because at home, there is the TV and nothing else, while at school, there are teachers who can show her more things and spend more time with her than I can at home.
Lucy: *If [younger daughter] had been six months old when you came here, would you have sent her to a nursery?*
Zuzanna: No, no way. From three years and up. That would be too early. I'm not even sure I would let an au pair or a nanny take care of her, as is popular here. Perhaps if it was a friend of mine I could have confidence in her, but otherwise, no.
(translated)

Child-care needs don't disappear when children reach school age and several mothers felt that it was important that they themselves pick children up from school and look after them out of school hours. In Poland this role would often have been fulfilled by grandparents. Several respondents expressed positive attitudes about grandparents' involvement in child-care, some feeling that their children were missing out on this close relationship because grandparents were still in Poland.

Parents whose young children attend nurseries during weekdays stressed similarly that only family or close friends should look after them at other times. Like Zuzanna and Amelia above, most respondents spoke negatively of leaving their child with 'strangers' and none of the parents in the group considered employing babysitters other than personal friends or family-members. Ewa and Paweł's two year old daughter is at nursery two days a week, but nevertheless they would not leave her with someone they don't know:

> **Lucy:** *Do you have baby-sitters here who can look after her?*
> **Paweł:** Our friends basically look after her when if go out.
> **Ewa:** It's really rare. I think a baby-sitter could be quite.. I think I'm not trusting, it must be friends. You hear these stories..
> **Paweł:** I don't think I'd have the courage to leave [daughter] with someone I don't know.
> **Ewa:** And I'm not that desperate to go out.

Mothers as the main carer

A minority of mothers in the group asserted that they really want to be at home caring for their small children full-time. Teresa, who has three pre-school age children and expecting another child at our second interview emphasises her preference to stay at home at this stage. She gave up working in a Polish Saturday school as she felt it reduced the energy she had for her own children, but still works one day a week as a carer in a home for disabled people. She presents being a stay-at-home mother as akin to her teaching job:

> I really want to stay with my kids, and it's so nice that I can do one shift per week. It's not too much for me; we can get by with it. And I loved working at school, I really loved it but you know, but you've got these different periods in your life and that's the time that I would prefer to stay with them at the house.
>
> ..
>
> For one day I was putting too much energy into it, and not really taking care of my own kids, so I decided I prefer to be a teacher here rather than somewhere else! (Teresa)

Teresa, and another mother Małgorzata, who has four children, emphasise that having a big family is very important to them. Teresa's account carries a note of defensiveness as she recognises her views go against the dominant norm:

> I really love my family, I'm so proud of them - you know you get house-proud people? - I'm a family-proud one! [..] I know many people will not understand our decisions, even about having another child, but I love it (Teresa)

Małgorzata only works in the evenings once her husband is back from his job. She describes herself as impressed by mothers who put their children in nurseries, but goes on to state that a baby 'needs' its mother at home, implying that doing this is part of being a mother:

> **Małgorzata:** I don't think I would give her up for a longer period of time, to go off on her own. Although there is a kindergarten around here, I think she's still too young to be given away like that. She's fine with what she has here.
>
> **Józef:** Małgorzata is right on this point, but there's also another thing - she is still breast-fed and is very attached to her mother.
>
> **Małgorzata:** I am impressed by Scottish mothers who give their children to nurseries. I could never do that. As long as I'm able to stay with the kids and as long as we're getting the benefits, I'm going to stay with them. They need their mother. Regardless of everything else, a mother is a mother. (Małgorzata, translated)

Teresa links her choice to stay home with her concerns about care by 'strangers' and emphasises her preference for family-members providing care:

> I think I would be very concerned if there were lots of hours with someone different than me and their dad [..] If we had a family around, I would love them to have contact with family. I don't want to separate them from the world, but I don't want them to be raised by a stranger. If I need to leave them with somebody because I have a doctor's appointment or whatever, I leave them with my friends, I don't leave them with strangers and I wouldn't like them to spend the whole day at nursery. (Teresa)

Childcare for Dual-earner couples

Family-centred care was also prioritised by some of the younger couples who are both in paid work, but while a few had migrated with grandparents who provide child-care, most parents have to manage between themselves. Most of the couples who both work full-time however, make use of private nurseries. These parents often stressed the benefits to children of socialising from a young age and emphasised their efforts to find the best nursery for their child. Some linked this decision with their concern that their children should become familiar with English language before starting school. Diana and Ryszard have a nine month old son, and Diana is planning to return to work:

> **Diana:** I like him to go to the nursery. Even if I wasn't going back to work, I really want him to go, because I think it's important, you know, to develop socially..
> **Ryszard:** And see something different..
> **Diana:** ..and play with kids and catch up the language really. Because we can speak English to him, but it's not going to be the same. So, I think it's gonna work well if he goes to nursery when he's still young, he doesn't speak and he goes there, I think it's a kind of natural way for him to learn English

Most of the couples in the study regarded it as the norm for mothers to be in paid work and staying home unusual, and the majority of the mothers wanted to be in paid

employment. A variety of discourses, shared by those currently dominant in the UK, are evident in reasons for this. Several mothers portrayed staying home as a waste of time, as boring, demeaning, isolating or an obstacle to a career and social life and some currently out of paid work presented their time at home as an undesirable necessity. Some mothers argued that it is part of their personality that they are not suited to staying home. Adam, who grew up England, referred to 'fairness' in arguing that women should have as much right to work as men:

> I am planning to go to work as soon as I'm able to, because it will be three years that I've been sitting at home and I'm getting tired and bored. It's just not for me.. (Daria)

> I have two children and I stayed home a long [time] as well, so I did lose some knowledge, because when you stay home all you do is nappies, bottles, crying, putting to sleep and nappies, bottles.. constantly the same thing.
> ..
> I'm not this kind of person. My personality does not allow me to stay at home because I would be depressed, I would cry every day. I need to be busy to know that I'm alive. And I still love my kids, I still do everything for them to have everything they need. I'll spend as much time as I can with them and I'll make sure that they're happy. (Oliwia)

> I couldn't stay at home. If I stayed home I'd freak out (Ewa)

> **Adam:** Obviously I think it's fair that both Hania and myself have a career, not only me. It's not fair for Hania to just be a housewife, blah, blah (scornful tone)
> **Hania:** I'd like to do something other than be a housewife, just to go and be around people.

An attitude expressed explicitly by one mother, but implicit in several accounts draws on a mother's obligation to work and disapproval of reliance on state benefits. Daria links mothers staying at home to benefit-scrounging. At the time of the study, since child-benefit was universal and working-tax credits not generally viewed with the same stigma as unemployment benefits, it seems unlikely this view would have

been shared by most British people. Although Daria has been at home with her baby, she feels an acute desire to work. Her attitudes are similar to these described among Polish migrants by Osipovic (2010) as well as by Lopez Rodriguez, who finds that Polish women in her study want to disassociate themselves from the 'long-term unemployed "underclass" parents' and are not prepared to sit around and wait for someone to find them a job (Lopez Rodriguez, 2010 p349). Daria describes another Polish migrant family she knows to illustrate her attitudes:

> I don't want to sound horrible, but he had a plan that he would bring them [his wife and child] over and they would live on benefits, that's basically it, and I really don't like it, but it's his choice. He works hard and [mother] she's the kind of person that it's hard because she doesn't speak English at all, she's really shy .. so at the moment they just have the benefits and she stays at home and takes care of [her son], and [father]'s working. (Daria)

Of herself she says:

> I think that I'd rather go to work than have it hanging in the air that I'm not, you know, that someone is giving me this money for free and they just might take it away any time, and it's just like it doesn't feel comfortable. I'd just rather go to work. (Daria)

Ewa, an architect, reduced her hours to three days a week after her daughter was born and points out that this damaged her career prospects:

> **Ewa:** I cannot run any projects, because I'm only three days, so that's the part I need to sacrifice, so I'm not happy that I can't do what I wanted to do, but I'm actually glad I can do something else, and changing the nappies, that's the thing (laughs)
> **Paweł:** I'm sure if you'd stayed there full-time you'd be looked at slightly differently. You might be a project architect for something.

Even among those for whom a dual-earner lifestyle is the ideal, mothers are often - and much more often than fathers - employed in part-time jobs which coordinate

with child-care requirements. Usually this is seen as a temporary situation, necessary only until the children are old enough not to need child-care.

Lifestyles of couples in the study

To demonstrate the different ways that preferences over child-care and work, in combination with different personal, employment and housing situations in the UK, result in different outcomes for families across the group, I now consider in turn the different kinds of strategies parents described in relation to work and child-care: mothers staying out of paid work or working short hours; mothers retraining while taking the main child-care role, and couples working as dual-earners, achieving gender-equality in care and work. I start by showing the division of child-care usage across all of the twenty-seven two-parent families in the study. Results are simplified, as some families adopted lifestyles which overlap the child-care types identified.

Table 6.1 Paid work and child-care (first interviews)

	Mother not in paid work, father full-time	Father full-time, mother part-time	Both working part-time / flexible hours	Dual earners, both full-time
Parental child-care only	7	5	3	
Regular child-care by grandparent		1	1	2
Child-care in private nursery		2	2	2
Older children, no child-care needed				2

As can be seen from the table, couples adopted a variety of strategies in work and child-care and division of labour between partners. Particularly among younger respondents, the ability to make these choices was presented as an outcome of migration. The factors respondents identified as key to these opportunities are explored below. These include: the availability of part-time work at hours fitting in with child-care, with partner's work and with educational courses; the ability to

change career and to switch to a different field of work, perhaps embarking on vocational training in order to do so; flexibility and availability of paid work; the father's income being sufficiently reliable and secure for the mother to take a break from paid work, or work only short hours. Several respondents expressed the view that in the UK it was always possible to find some kind of paid work, while in Poland there had been no work of any kind in their local area. Added to this, many (although not all) of the respondents suggested that employers and employment arrangements were fairer in the UK than in Poland.

It is worth also noting that migration from Poland to the UK also, for several migrants, constituted a move from a rural to an urban area, which in itself increases ease of access to, and the range of, employment, educational establishments, child-care provision and leisure facilities. Migration for some also entailed a move away from a locality where parents and siblings lived nearby or shared the household, to one where they were isolated and without extended family support, although just under half of the families have relatives living in Edinburgh.

Male-breadwinner model and variations

Seven mothers stayed at home full-time looking after children and were not currently engaging in or looking for paid employment. These mothers identified this choice as enabled by their move to the UK (as also highlighted by Ryan *et al.*, 2009b). In these families, fathers' earnings in the UK allow for a much higher standard of living than would be possible in Poland, so that the perceived need for both partners to work is removed.

> For us, we see that there are no opportunities when we go back to Poland so we know that our life would look completely different. We would have to work in different timings, that you would have to go to nursery, then, you know that it would be so hard that we would not have our personal life at all. This is how it is in Poland. [..] You need to work all the time to support your family and two of the parents work. (Daria)

> I would be so unhappy if I were in Poland now and *had to* - I don't know, because of finances or something - had to go back to work. (Teresa)

However, for mothers without English fluency or whose Polish qualifications are not recognised by employers in Edinburgh, the choice not to engage in paid work is not based primarily on preference for a traditional male-breadwinner lifestyle, but results from their inability to access work that utilises their employment skills from Poland. For most mothers who lack language fluency, the only employment option they can find is cleaning work. Faced with this, several of the mothers, not feeling a financial necessity to earn, stay home and care for children while working to raise their English language to a level which will allow them to make use of their skills and qualifications in employment.

In two thirds of couples in the study, the father took the greater responsibility for providing the regular income, but very often, even for couples who adopt a predominantly male-breadwinner lifestyle, mothers engage in part-time work in the early mornings or evenings, outside the father's working hours. This allowed mothers to contribute to the family income, while also carrying out the majority of child-care and school pick-ups themselves. Mothers in this position value the ability to do this and, like mothers who stay at home, they attribute the option of working only short hours to the higher earnings available relative to living costs in the UK, and the availability of work at hours which suit the family.

For some couples, the knowledge that such part-time work is available is sufficient for them to decide that the mother can stay at home and care full-time for children, because they are confident that if the financial need for the mother to work arises, work will be available. Grażyna was a librarian in Poland, but has decided to stay home for the moment with her pre-school age son as she cannot access work as a librarian in Edinburgh. She says:

> In Poland both parents used to work to survive, especially when you've got a lot of kids. Here it doesn't need to be so hard, so it's much easier to live. Yes. Even if I

> would like to work, as I said, I can work evening hours, so it's much, much easier. (Grażyna)

Three mothers who had stayed home with their first child for the first two or three years of their lives felt that a downside of this decision was that they had become socially isolated. They had been unable to find local parent and baby groups where they felt comfortable and their children had become dependent on their presence, making it increasingly difficult to leave them with anyone else. A parent and toddler group for Polish parents I visited had been set up specifically to address this problem of isolation among Polish mothers. Two mothers in the study, as a solution to feeling isolated, had successfully made contact with other Polish mothers in Edinburgh through Polish web-based social-networking forums.

Mothers retrain while taking main child-care role

For seven English-speaking couples, the absence of financial pressure on the mother to work full-time had allowed her to enrol in a vocational course, either with the OU or a local FE college while also taking the main responsibility for child-care. In two couples both partners had enrolled in vocational courses. Partners of some of the mothers who were retraining were in professional or skilled work, while others worked full-time in unskilled work. Those mothers who are retraining while their partners work full-time in deskilled work provide an interesting reversal of the strategies identified by Baker and Benjamin in testing 'family-investment' theory in Canada, where they found that mothers worked in unskilled labour in order to allow the father to retrain (Baker and Benjamin, 1997). For the couples adopting this strategy in this study a possible outcome might be that the mothers will eventually become more highly qualified and employable at a higher level of earnings than their partners, perhaps then becoming the main earners and allowing the fathers to retrain or work part-time in turn.

Sharing child-care and paid work equally

Several of the younger, Group 1 parents prioritised sharing child-care between them and emphasised the importance of fathers' involvement in child-care. The availability of part-time work at non-traditional hours potentially allows both parents to engage in 'full-time' work with shift hours which do not overlap, so they can either cover child-care entirely between themselves or make some use of crèche or nursery care but also both take on a substantial part of child-care. This strategy was adopted by four of the Group 1 couples; these parents prioritised family-member provided care, had young children and emphasised the importance of achieving a gender-balanced lifestyle with the father equally involved in child-care and the mother able to engage in paid work of equal value to the father. These couples again made the point that it was availability of suitable work in the UK that allowed them to do this. (See case study 3 for one couple adopting this lifestyle).

The ability to start a new career

Most of the younger parents migrated, as described in Chapter 4, shortly after graduating. On arrival in the UK, needing to earn money quickly to get by, they took unskilled manual work. Although most originally hoped to use their degree in relevant work in the future, by the time of this study most no longer planned this, either because they had found their qualification was not recognised by employers in the UK or because they had decided on an alternative career path.

Diana and Ryszard both graduated in Social Work in Poland, but after a few years working in London as kitchen assistant and shop worker respectively, they moved to Edinburgh and he started his own building company. Diana built on administrative experience gained in her job in London, accessing work as an NHS administrator; she is also taking a Psychology Degree with the OU. She explains:

> I don't think our degree is relevant here, I mean maybe it is, but initially I was thinking maybe I should get some time and either take an exam here and become a

> qualified social worker here, or do [..] uni or whatever I have to do to use my degree here, but I don't feel I want to be a Social Worker, so I don't think.. Social work in Poland is a bit different from here and I decided even though it's a proper career it's not what I want to do. Plus, when we came here I needed to find a job straight away because we needed the money. (Diana)

Some of the Group 1 parents embarking on new career paths were training in care work and nursing. Hania, whose first degree was in Food Technology, decided against pursuing this and has tried out a few other possibilities. At the time of the first interview she is child-minding but this is not providing a reliable income so she has applied to work and train with the NHS. At the second interview she is working for the NHS and is hopeful of being able to train towards a career as a nurse.

As well as the ability to change from a subject studied in Poland, younger parents who are embarking on new career paths stress that being in the UK provides them with the potential to change career again at a later stage. This is contrasted with commitment to a lifetime in one career that they perceive as the only option in Poland - similarly this element of emancipation resulting from mobility is described by Botterill in her study of Polish migrants (Botterill, 2011).

Diana describes her perception of her friends' lives in Poland when they go back to visit as lacking 'flexibility':

> ..We didn't like our friends' lifestyle over there, even though they'd finished uni and they started work. For example, their life wasn't that flexible as we had in our life here, even though we didn't have like proper career jobs, it was just simple jobs, but then we could pay for everything we wanted. (Diana)

Two different strategies adopted in response to greater availability of work and choice over working hours, are to switch between jobs trying out different employment options and to work simultaneously on multiple jobs; taking on multiple jobs allowed respondents to gain useful experience in work relevant to a future career-prospect and combine this with unskilled work providing a regular income as

well as sometimes relevant vocational study. Care and nursing work were found by some respondents to offer both flexibility and career prospects, and so particularly useful to this strategy.

Two mothers wanting to prioritise child-care had enrolled on health-care-related courses with the OU while their partners worked full-time. Julia and Rafał migrated with three children who are all school age. He is in full-time professional work, and she studies part-time with the OU while taking main responsibility for looking after the children. I ask them whether this lifestyle would have been possible in Poland. Julia's sister, who is visiting, interrupts to point out how, in her opinion it is primarily for women that being in the UK rather than Poland makes a difference. Rafał however, attributes the difference to the move from a village to city-living rather than migration to the UK:

> **Julia:** In Poland that would be really difficult, to work, study and still take care of three children, to assure them everything what we want that they have. (To Rafał**)** What do you think?
> **Rafał:** Just now, it's not that.. In my opinion there are not many differences between here and Poland, in what's available here and what's available in Poland, especially if you've got some experience and education. In IT there was never a problem to get a job there or to get a job here. [..]
> **Julia's Sister:** Would you mind - I wanted to add something? Because I think you're missing a very important point. It would be more difficult for *you* (to Julia). When you ask Rafał, it's not so difficult for men in Poland to do what they want. It's difficult for you (Julia) to take care of the children, go to school, work at the same time.
> **Julia:** And all of those things, I can have in Edinburgh, nearby, like in the area.
> **Rafał:** So that's about Edinburgh, not about Scotland
> **Julia:** Yes, maybe
> **Rafał:** Living in the capital, all facilities.

Schneider and Holman also highlight opportunities for migrant women in the UK:

> Opportunities for personal development – education, career development, language

> acquisition – and the ability to live independently and feel in control of one's own life were also key 'stay' factors for a number of largely female interviewees.
> (Schneider and Holman, 2011 p53)

It is worth noting in relation to migrants embarking on new careers, that although Group 1 migrants are similar to those identified shortly after migration as engaged in deskilled work and providing evidence supporting the claim of 'brain waste', (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009), their subsequent re-engagement with education and training and the new career paths, as described by couples in this study, suggest that this was only a temporary phenomenon.

A note on those families where grandmothers migrated too

Some of the parents commented that they missed being near their own parents, both for the relationship grandparents could develop with their grandchildren and for the practical child-care support grandparents provided in Poland. In five families in the study grandparents had migrated to the UK with or to join their children; three grandmothers lived with their daughters' families and grandparents lived nearby two further families. In some of these families the whole extended family group had migrated together. One mother, Oliwia, described how her parents, her sister and she had bought three new-build houses in a row, making it particularly easy for her mother to help with child-care.

Societal difference

Some wider societal and employment factors also impact on couples' options. These include: attitudes towards women who stay at home, equal opportunities in recruitment, opportunities for employment advancement in certain sectors, and differences in education and access to it. I discuss these in turn.

Attitudes to women staying home

Those mothers who stayed at home with children suggested that attitudes to women in the UK, as well as better facilities, such as toddler groups and leisure activities, made staying at home a more desirable option than it would be in Poland. Julia's account of gender roles in Poland conforms with that given by Siara, who argues that patriarchy is still dominant in Poland and women are expected to 'fulfil their roles of wives and mothers, rather than pursue their own goals and dreams' (Siara, 2009 p168). Julia suggests that the different attitudes dominant in the UK have influenced her relationship with her husband as well as her feelings about staying at home with her school age children:

> I always thought there was something about Polish men, that they would want the woman to be still a woman from the past, like, a mum, a housewife, someone who cooks, someone who cleans, someone who takes care of children and who takes care of them and all they have to do is bring in the money. I don't know if it's changed. It's changed with me and my husband. We now treat each other more equally, and it's changed because we came here I think. [..]
>
> There are some structures in Poland, for example, men, they really rule the world in Poland - really! And women are in a very, very bad situation. I can't be myself in Poland. I can't cope with children without a husband. And this is how you feel - I can't do anything. He can do everything - really! All you can do is just agree. And life here, it's different and even we - we're a good marriage - I feel we're better here. For example - or maybe this is just because we are growing up, because we were very young when we had our first child, and then he had to go to work and I stayed with the children and I had to do my own career - but really I sacrificed [myself for] the children. But here he appreciates my work more and sometimes I feel that it is because of the ambience of this country (Julia)

And at our second interview she says:

> In Poland I was just a frustrated housewife and here I'm a full-time parent

Izabela, who has two pre-school age sons describes how in Poland, mothers at home with small children are expected to spend all their time in the house, while here there are lots of activities and groups for parents and young children. She describes toddler groups, swimming classes and activities at their local arts centre. These facilities are particularly good in their locality, identified as an area of deprivation and targeted by the council for regeneration in recent years. This couple's choice to live in such an area, as well as offering good facilities, gives them secure tenure in social housing and access to educational bursaries that both parents have taken up, and is thus seen to be highly beneficial for them (see discussion in Chapter 4 of how their strategy is unusual among Group 1 parents).

One of the factors Hakim identifies as important in realising preferences over lifestyle is the establishment of equal opportunities in employment. As described in Chapter 1, in Poland the introduction of the free market and reduction of the public sector led to an increase in sex-discrimination in employment, making it harder for women to access work (Pollert, 2003). Some of the respondents described how this had impacted on them, Grażyna for example, highlights the more flexible approach of British employers:

> Even if you are coming from maternity leave, you're saying 'I'd like to work Monday and Friday and part-time', and they are saying 'OK!' In Poland – 'No!'. If you're a mother in Poland, you need to be - you come to the same position and the same hours. Much more flexible here. I believe that's the biggest advantage for mothers. (Grażyna)

Kinga, who had gained a management qualification in Poland before having children, describes her experience trying to get back into work as a young mother in a rural area in Poland:

> When I spoke to people from a company I always feel like that I was a woman from a village who won't work, because they always asked, 'Yes, but you live in a small village, how are you going to get to the job?', 'I have a car', 'But if your car is broken [down] or if there is snow or something like that, or if your children would

be sick?'. It's not like this country, they never ask about anything like that. They never ask if you are married or you have children. [..] Very often I felt terrible. [..] I felt like the first woman in the world who wants work. (Kinga)

Education

A further important difference identified between Poland and the UK was in access to further and higher education. Parents currently enrolled in courses described tertiary education in Edinburgh as easier to access and fairer than that in Poland, with effort rewarded and personal connections of less relevance. Lopez Rodriguez (2010) similarly finds this to be important to Polish mothers in her London-based study. Edyta and Filip, both studying in Edinburgh, explain how difference impacts on them:

Filip: It's good for higher education, the fact that you're able to study here, it's very good. When you really want to do it and you show enthusiasm, they will let you study. We like that.
Edyta: And you really get the grades you deserve to get. It's very honest very fair.
Lucy: *More than in Poland?*
Edyta: In Poland they have a kind of test [..] You study, let's say, for a whole semester, and then in most universities you get an oral exam and you get 3 questions, and if you don't answer them.. I think it's not a proper test of your knowledge
Filip: I think it depends on the mood of the examiner rather than real skills, real knowledge.
Edyta: And if someone wants to study medicine it's up to that person, up to their intelligence, how hard they work, to get there. In Poland, it's very difficult to get into medical [school]
Lucy: *It's difficult here too..*
Edyta: But you still can to apply, you don't have to bribe anyone [..] It's honest.
Filip: If a doctor's in the family..
Edyta: Yes, with law schools it's the same type of problems
Filip: And military schools..
Edyta: You have to know someone

Izabela and Jakub who are in their early thirties and have pre-school age children, are both enrolled in Further Education courses and in paid employment at the time of the first interview. When I ask them if this would have been possible in Poland, they point both to the lack of colleges and of access for mature students:

> **Lucy:** *[In] Poland, do you think you'd be able to do the kind of courses you're both doing?*
> **Izabela:** No
> **Jakub:** It's impossible. We have, that's one of the big differences between here and Poland, we have no colleges like here in Poland, so that's the first point.
> **Izabela:** You don't have this support. And thinking about myself going for further studies now, considering my age, which is not very (laughs).. In Poland they would look at me as if I was kind of crazy, and obviously they would not provide such a great support as they do provide here. So we really appreciate that.
> **Jakub:** It means that we can just work together, and we can just arrange our time to be together. So I work Saturdays and Sundays and Mondays I go to work, so that's really great.

Ease of access to education and training was relevant to parents with differing strategies, including those combining nursing or social care training with paid work within the NHS and several mothers who had enrolled in OU courses while also engaging in paid work or child-care.

Opportunities for children

While this focus on increased opportunity is most relevant to young, highly-educated migrants who speak fluent English, for older migrant parents and those with weaker English, better opportunities in education and work were still frequently raised in interviews as an important gain from migration. Older parents however focused on increased opportunities for their children, rather than for themselves (see also Lopez Rodriguez, 2010); in the UK their children will learn English and gain qualifications that they anticipate will be recognised worldwide. Iwona speaks for several of the families when she says: 'That is why we came, just for the children to have a better

life' (see also White, 2009a). Opportunities for children are relevant for younger parents too. When considering return, Daria explains:

> We know how it was when we were little and how our parents had to choose between what's more important during a month for example, we couldn't have many extra activities because they couldn't afford it, and the same with universities - you have to pay loads of money.
>
> ..
>
> So I'm just thinking that over here kids have much more possibilities [..] I don't want my child in the future telling me that 'Oh, you took me from such a developed country to such a poor one, and now I'm just sitting in a little city and just working' – I don't know – 'in a store', for example. (Daria)

Greater individual support for children in schools was important for several parents. Agnieszka, whose four year old son has dyspraxia, cites this difference as critical to their decision over staying:

> Everybody's more informed; they know what [dyspraxia] is, and everybody's more involved and out to help you, whereas in Poland they shift the responsibility to the parents, they don't know what it is, and the system doesn't really cater for it at all. Here, they do everything to help them at school; they even tell us that we don't have to worry about anything - if he needs extra time in exams he'll get it, and if he needs a computer for writing, he'll get it. There's nothing like that in Poland. They're not willing to help there. (Agnieszka, translated)

Case studies

I now present case studies of three young families whose stories illustrate some of the strategies and preferences discussed above. The first couple, Zosia and Mikolai, have opted for the moment for a male-breadwinner lifestyle, but the mother hopes to re-enter a career at some point. In the other two couples both partners engage in paid work and both describe rather complicated arrangements for managing work and child-care between them, but their different skills and qualifications as well as

preferences in child-care, stemming perhaps from differences in their children's ages and plans for the future, have led them to adopt differing lifestyles.

1. Zosia and Mikolai

Mikolai came to the UK in 2006 because his work as a builder in Northern Poland was irregular - in winter when snow lay on the ground work ceased - and they were finding it hard to manage financially. He found a job as a painter and decorator in Edinburgh while Zosia stayed in Poland completing a degree in Land Management. After graduating in 2009 she joined him with their pre-school age son, Emil. Initially she tried working in a fast food restaurant, but quickly realised that her English was insufficient for this. As a result she decided to stay out of paid work, caring for Emil and working on her English. She hopes later to be able to make use of her degree here. At the time of the first interview Emil is at playgroup, and Zosia attends English classes at the Polish club one evening a week, giving him a chance to meet other Polish children.

Zosia has a baby daughter, Nina, during the study year. At the second interview she says she is enjoying being at home:

> I want to be at home longer. It's easier for us to do housework. My husband works and when I am at home I can do lots of housework and we don't need Nina to go to a nursery, and I can deliver and pick up my son from school; this is easier. I still think about a job, but - [in] one year. It's good for me to be at home, I like it. I like waiting for my husband to come back from work - the dinner, talking, playing together. This is.. I like it!

While she is enjoying caring for the children at home, they both assume that they will use professional child-care when Zosia returns to work. Mikolai emphasises how much less stressful the decision to have a child is here than Poland, because of financial security:

Lucy: *When do you think you would return to work?*

Mikolai: Maybe when the baby is one year, half a year to go to some crèche.

Zosia: Here there are lots of places for small children, nurseries, and I think this will be fine.

Mikolai: We will manage. There's no pressure here, in Scotland there's no pressure like in Poland. In Poland [if] we [were] wait[ing] for a baby just now, I [would] think about this, 'Oh God, I need money for a buggy or for stuff'. We don't think about it - it's cheap here.

Zosia and Mikolai have adopted the male-breadwinner model of lifestyle only because of their current circumstances and Zosia's English, but it has turned out well. Unlike some respondent mothers who choose to stay home, she does not express a strong preference for family-member child-care and they will be happy to use professional care to fit in with their work strategies once the children are beyond the baby stage.

2. Ola and Mariusz

Ola and Mariusz migrated to the UK with their one year old daughter, Laura, in 2007 shortly after they both graduated, she in Law and he in Economics. In Poland Mariusz was working as an economic analyst for the health service, but lacking strong English he works in Edinburgh in food-packaging. Ola speaks fluent English and is studying Law again at university in Edinburgh; she combines this with working two nights a week in a care home and one evening a week as a volunteer interpreter for a charity for families threatened with homelessness. She hopes in the future to combine her Polish and British Law qualifications, voluntary work experience, and English language skills to become a legal interpreter. However, she stresses that they plan to return to Poland before Laura reaches secondary school age.

Ola describes her husband, who is unable to participate in the interview, as easy-going and happy to continue in manual work for the moment. She acknowledges that his preparedness to take on the main breadwinner role gives her a freedom in work

and training in Edinburgh that she would not otherwise have. She also contrasts the opportunities and variety of career routes available in Scotland with her friends' routine lives in Poland:

> **Ola:** They're just doing this because they're doing [it], and they don't really plan ahead. It's like the life of our parents. It's just like, 'This is what I'm going to do for the next 20 years. OK, this is what my Sunday and Saturday and Friday will look like in the next 20 years!' That's what really frightens me. And I like this part, where I don't really know what will happen. ..
> They just have one job. You see for me Scotland gave me lots of opportunities, you know, I can do lots of things, I can make things happen.
> **Lucy:** *More easily than in Poland?*
> **Ola:** Yes, I would think so. Well, you see, right now I'm doing what I'm doing only because I'm a student and I can suit my job to my hours to my school and all, and I can do 20 hours without any problems. And some of my friends [in Poland], they really can't do proper hours because they can't mix it with school and all. And this is a good job, it's not badly paid, and it's with the council [..] I really know where I am with this job. But I can change things, if I really hated this job I could quit and find something else, and then something else, and do other stuff, and now since my husband's got this permanent job I don't have this fright that [..] I'm stuck with this job for ages. And I've got this feeling that my friends in Poland are like that, just stuck and I'm the only one, you know, that actually can study. That I'm studying all the time, doing something new, and lots of my friends say that they are kind of a bit jealous that.. all the time, that I've got all these plans, that I've changed things..

At the first interview Laura attends a full-time nursery. Some evenings her parents' working hours mean that neither of them can look after her and they ask a friend to babysit. When I ask if they have ever had to use professional babysitters, Ola replies that, luckily, they have never had to do that. I ask how they manage child-care:

> It is complicated, but you know there is this English expression 'Where there's a will there's a way'. So, basically when I have to go to work and he's at work still - because he comes home from work at half past ten - so my friends are helping us. So, I've got a few friends, so they just come and stay and obviously I pay them because it's like basically a baby-sitting. (Ola)

When I interview Ola a year later, the family have moved further out of the city to a rented flat in a better location. Laura has started at the local primary school and a Polish neighbour picks her up from school with her own child and looks after her until they get home.

Ola and Mariusz are currently prioritising her career, with Mariusz providing a regular family income. Ola combines career-related study with relevant voluntary work and low-skilled flexible employment in order to earn. She works extremely long hours. While they have made use of a full-time private nursery for their daughter, they share the dominant view that care by strangers is not desirable, only asking friends to help with child-care.

3. Edyta and Filip

Edyta and Filip had both studied at university in Poland before separately going to the US where they met. In Poland he graduated in P.E., and she in Political Science, but they had both decided they would prefer not to pursue careers using these qualifications. After graduating they returned to the US for three more years, migrating to Edinburgh when their work visas expired. He initially worked as a P.E. teacher in Edinburgh, but his teaching post was cut, so he took work covering night-shifts as a security guard. Working as an assistant physiotherapist in the US, had led him to want to pursue this as a career. At the first interview, Edyta is about to graduate from a Nursing degree, and she is working on the NHS 'staff bank'.

After their 18 month old daughter, Martyna, was born, Filip gave up his security job and found work as a care assistant, also through the NHS 'staff bank', enrolling on a Physiotherapy degree course at the same time. His work sometimes provides him with experience useful to his course. They emphasise their strong preference for family-provided child-care, an equal division of child-care between them, and the importance of Filip's involvement in child-care and because of these priorities they manage child-care entirely between themselves, acknowledging that as a result, their lives are complicated and rushed.

Filip: When Edyta had to come back for her assignments, when Martyna was 4 or 5 months old, I had to quit security because I had to babysit, and I'd had enough of it too. And now I do flexible work for the NHS staff-bank; I work as a care-assistant in different hospitals - nursing homes and hospitals, but now I choose the days that I want to work and it's much better for us.

Lucy: *So you're a full-time student and a part-time care assistant?*

Filip: Yeah. Part-time to full-time, it depends. If I have a break at school, I go full-time - it depends on the week. Or if Edyta has to go for assignments, like six days within nine days, then I go for one or two shifts; when she has a few days off, I go for more hours. It depends on what our bank statement shows!

Filip talks about Edyta's changing work and training involvement in Edinburgh:

Filip: She went straight to studying nursing and she became an auxiliary for the staff bank and she was doing that when she had time. And she gave up when she became pregnant, and she is still on the bank now - she has just reactivated her status. [..] Now there are difficulties with getting a job as a full-time nurse, but for bank-staff nurses there are always shifts available and again she will be able to choose her shifts, maybe to work around my course assignments again - crazy life!

Lucy: *Is it working out - the courses and the work and everything?*

Filip: It's commitment really, sacrifice. We don't have so-called stability in life, because when weekend comes we don't rest like most families. Maybe these days everybody works weekends, I don't know, but one of us is working all the time, either with [our] kid or outside. Sometimes we're wondering what would we do if we had this so-called stable life. Would we divorce or..?! Sometimes we make jokes about it.

Discussing future child-care, they express concerns about using a crèche. Filip points out how traditionally grandmothers provide child-care in Poland. He says he considered asking his mother if she would come to Edinburgh to help out. For them, professional or group care for a small child is unsatisfactory, and they seem to disagree about the age when it will be OK. He refers to Polish norm of mothers staying home for three years:

Edyta: I would say that she's too small for pre-school. ..

Filip: And I can take a year off.. I always said I can take a year off if necessary.

Lucy: *So what age would you be happy for her to go to a nursery?*

Edyta: 2 years, something like that.

Filip: For 3 days or 2 days.. 5 days? When she's still..?

Edyta: 1 ½.. Precious!

Filip: Going to a public crèche, or to a friend who..?

Lucy: *Something informal?*

Filip: Yes. If she doesn't pick up all these germs from the crèche (laughs).. In Poland we stayed at home until 3 years. Mothers stayed at home.

During the study year the couple move to London. Filip explains that on graduating Edyta found better nursing positions advertised there than in Edinburgh. They have rented out their Edinburgh flat and she is working full-time; Filip had to give up his physiotherapy course. For the moment he has gone back to part-time supply teaching while doing most of the child-care, but he hopes to re-enrol in a nursing course before long. He says that they will then be happy for their daughter to go to nursery.

This couple prioritise family-member care for their child while she is very young as well as gender-equality between partners in both child-care and paid work. These preferences can be realised because of their qualifications and skills and the availability of flexible shift-work. The result is complicated mutually-negotiated shifts of work, vocational training and care, and little leisure time for the family together - a 'crazy' life resulting from trying to reconcile their priorities.

Discussion of the case studies

These three families provide examples of different lifestyles: one mother at home with children, one couple in which the mother builds a career while the father has deskilled to provide a regular income, and one couple dividing career-building and child-care equally. All three of the families are 'work-centred' to different degrees, with both parents in all three families hoping to engage in paid work within a few

years. All three mothers are interested in making professional careers, rather than simply earning money.

For these families, a preference for family-member-provided child-care does not necessarily coincide with a choice for the mother to stay at home. For Zosia and Mikolai, the choice for Zosia to stay at home is based on practical considerations and while this lifestyle suits them for now, they plan to use professional child-care later, allowing Zosia, who is more highly-qualified than her husband, to utilise her degree. Edyta and Filip, in contrast, although they are both actively pursuing careers, prioritise family-provided and an equal division of child-care, perhaps adopting a 'Western' style of gender-equality preferences, having lived in the US and Britain for a number of years.

The different ways in which current employment can be utilised is also apparent between these couples. Nursing is seen by Edyta and Filip as a potential career path, as well as offering relevant, secure and flexible paid work in the short term, while for Ola, care work offers a flexible option for earning some extra income while she studies and also engages in relevant voluntary work; she hopes that these together will help her build a career as a legal interpreter.

Summary

Contrasting preferences in child-care and division of work are evident among the respondents, as well as a variety in families' enacted lifestyles. Strategies include: mothers staying out of paid work caring for children full-time or combining child-care with vocational study; fathers working-full time and mothers taking main responsibility for daily child-care and working hours outside father's work; both partners working flexible hours and covering childcare between them, achieving an equal gender division of work and care. Some couples both work full-time, as would have been the norm in Poland, but most of those who do this in the UK are embarking on career paths in a new employment area. Some families across all three

groups migrated with grandparents who help with child-care, providing greater freedom over available options for parents.

Interviewees frequently claimed that their preferred choices in lifestyle in the UK would not have been achievable in Poland, and in this chapter I have linked their claims with those drawn from preference theory, that the fulfilment in the UK, but not in Poland, of some key societal factors enable these families to act on their preferences as they could not have done in Poland. Greater affluence has resulted in a better standard of living, and this, together with flexibility of available work, greater security and ease of finding work, lack of discrimination, fairer and easier access to further education, and finally, more positive attitudes towards mothers who stay home with young children, allow couples with differing preferences over lifestyle to act on these. Many feel that had they stayed in Poland, the only option available to them would have been a dual-earner lifestyle and that combining work, study and child-care was not an available option in Poland. These findings support those from Schneider and Holman's study of East Anglian A10 workers which found that compared to the UK, countries of origin 'were perceived by many participants as places where "life plans" were more difficult to realise' (Schneider and Holman, 2011 p11).

I suggest, in contradiction to preference theory, that several of the particular preferences held by these couples are likely to originate from norms and traditional behaviours in Poland. These include a strong preference among several parents for child-care to be exclusively provided by family members, with an avoidance of care by 'strangers', and a discourse whereby the 'professional' educator is good for children over the age of 3, after which children in Poland would usually enter full-time pre-school nursery.

The variety of preferences identified is more complex than the simple division into work-centred, family-centred or adaptable proposed by Hakim. Some mothers feel a strong sense of obligation to work and disapproval of other mothers who stay home, who are seen to some extent as irresponsible and abusing state benefits - an attitude

perhaps stemming from communist norms. Other parents in the study prioritise a large family with the mother staying home to care for children, perhaps influenced by traditional Catholic values. Others again favour a dual-earner lifestyle and while some of these are happy to make use of professional child-care, others, perhaps influenced by a more Western notion of gender-equality, prioritise sharing child-care as well as paid work equally between them, sometimes going to great lengths to negotiate work and care patterns to achieve this.

While most of these younger parents, who migrated to the UK just after graduating, engaged in manual work immediately after migration, those who settled and started families in the UK seem to now be re-embarking on career paths, often involving retraining in a new area. The accounts of the parents in this chapter suggest that the phenomenon of 'brain waste' identified among these highly-qualified migrants to the UK in the early years after migration, may, for those who stayed, only have been a temporary phenomenon.

Chapter 7: Professional parents and the importance of 'motility'

This chapter looks at the attitudes and experiences of families who, not fitting the patterns described in Chapters 5 and 6, belong to the less clearly defined Group 3 as described in Chapter 4. In particular it explores attitudes evident among parents in these families to mobility. While the possibility of future migration was considered by families in all three groups, those families who were entertaining this as a real possibility in the short term were younger parents with strong English skills, who have pre-school age children, but who are distinguished from the majority of Group 1 parents, who provided the focus of Chapter 6, by the fact that they are well-established in professional or skilled employment in Edinburgh. While Chapter 8 will look at future plans and attitudes to staying in or leaving the UK across the whole group, this chapter focuses on the ability and attitudes of the (relatively few) families who maintain and negotiate plans for continued mobility and for whom onward migration constitutes part of a wider life strategy. I explore the distinctive elements inherent in their accounts by drawing on theories of 'mobilities' and cosmopolitanism and argue that migrants who are able to adopt strategies involving future migration are distinguished from others by their greater capacity to control mobility through utilising networks and skills attained or developed through migration to the UK.

I begin the chapter by reviewing the theoretical approaches to mobility discussed in Chapter 2 and then go on to explore discourses and attitudes from interview data which relate to elements presented in this theoretical debate. In particular I examine discourses relating to 'openness', a term that recurred, explicitly or implicitly invoking many of the key elements in the theoretical mobilities literature. I find that the concept of 'openness' is employed, for example, in distinguishing between typical characteristics of the Scottish and Polish mentality and also in relation to self-improvement resulting from migration. I look at how 'mobility' is recognised among

respondents as relating to a particular stage of life and necessarily time-bounded, and explore how this time-limitation plays out in individual migrant parents' lives.

Next, looking across the whole respondent group I investigate how migrants' original motivations for migration relate to their future plans, including those to migrate to a third country, and ask whether the adoption of a 'cosmopolitan' approach relates to plans for continued mobility. I employ the concept of 'motility' or capacity for utilising mobility in order to explain the formation of plans for onward migration and differences in possibilities for different families. I specifically focus on rationales underlying two behaviours described by respondents: buying a home and applying for citizenship and show that rationales for these relate to beliefs and plans in different ways for respondents with different levels of motility.

Finally I focus on those parents who plan return to Poland and who are trying to increase their 'motility' in order to create viable strategies for return, for example through setting up businesses which utilise the networks and skills they have acquired while in the UK. I link these migrants with those planning onward migration, arguing that these families share a capacity to make use of 'mobilities' that other migrants lack. I end the chapter again by presenting two case studies which illustrate the different ways respondents utilise 'motility' in their future plans.

Mobility theory

As discussed in Chapter 2, a host of different elements are associated with the historical development of the concept of 'mobilities'. Its primary origin might be found in 'cosmopolitanism', with its implications of open-mindedness and an intellectual and tolerant approach to unfamiliar cultures and people (Hannerz, 1996; Merton, 1968). Experiencing new cultures is presented as a form of education leading to self-improvement, but it is an experience which has historically only been available to an elite, constituted of those who have both the means to experiment and a secure base to return to if life in a strange country turns out to be unmanageable or dangerous (Hannerz, 1996).

A second major strand of mobility theory focuses on changes in society relating to increased speed and ease of communication and travel, and the changed nature of relationships across space and time (Adey, 2010; Bauman, 1998; Sheller, 2011; Urry, 2007). Mobility in this context is portrayed as an important factor in social stratification, and a new concept of 'motility' is proposed (Kaufman *et al.*, 2004), representing individual capacity for personal mobility or for making use of 'mobilities' in the modern world; motility, as a form of capital, may be utilised along with others, economic, human and social, for personal benefit.

The concept of 'motility' potentially offers another way of distinguishing the three groups identified among respondents in Chapter 4, dividing them according to levels of 'motility', in particular focusing on their capacities to control their own personal mobility and to access information and networks which assist with future mobility. Group 2 migrant families, as identified in chapter 4, who came to Edinburgh with older children, despite having chosen migration voluntarily and making use of Polish networks in doing so, commonly migrated from a sense of necessity or urgency to escape financial hardship in Poland. Onward migration is not currently seen as a realistic prospect for most of the families in this group, who have local ties through school-age children and lack transferable employment and language skills. Parents in Group 1, who migrated after graduating, planning to save some money and return to Poland, can perhaps be portrayed as having a higher level of choice over their initial migration decision, although it also often stemmed from experience or expectation of problems in accessing employment in Poland. Most Group 1 migrants however, do not currently consider onward migration, as they are currently engaged in building careers and networks in the UK as explored in Chapter 6. Group 3 families however, who migrated for a new experience or to advance their careers, and who managed to access professional work in the UK, often seeing migration as furthering their career prospects, can be seen as possessing the highest level of 'motility'. These parents are able to make use of professional and social networks and have routes of access to a wide range of information, enabling them to seek to optimise their employment and lifestyle opportunities through consideration of their future migration options: staying in the UK, returning to Poland or migrating to a third country.

An important element underlying mobility is the notion of freedom to roam at will, with easy and quick transport options and no need for visa-applications (Favell, 2008a). This freedom is appreciated particularly when it was denied previously, and memories of travel-restrictions under communism are still very much in the minds of Polish migrants. As Favell recognises however, the free-roaming lifestyle is, for most people, only a transient stage. Involvement with local people and institutions, and formation of partnerships and families undermine the appeal of the free roaming lifestyle.

Among my respondent group some parents see their mobility as necessarily coming to an end once their children start school, or after one migration upheaval, while others see themselves as having a limited period remaining in which they can be mobile and find the best place to settle. Networks and information gained through migration can be utilised to gain a privileged insight and so increase migrants' potential for finding the place which maximises benefits to them, based on their personal priorities.

It was argued in Chapter 2 that return migration needs to be understood in the context of rationales for initial migration, and the same can be argued of onward migration. Braun and Rechhi (2009) divide motivations for migration into 'instrumental', for example, work or study, and 'expressive', for example, love or lifestyle. This division relates to some extent to the 'cosmopolitan-local' divide in migrants' mentality, with 'the cosmopolitan' seeking a new country for 'expressive' reasons, while locally-focused individuals migrate only through economic necessity or when forced by instrumental factors. The distinction can be seen to relate to the divisions between family types in this study, with Group 2 migrants moving for predominantly 'instrumental' reasons, while those in the other groups describe a range of more 'expressive' rationales for migration: 'a change', 'new experience' or 'an adventure'. While this categorisation necessarily simplifies, as its application by Braun and Rechhi involves seeking patterns of association over large numbers of migrants, it provides a useful framework within which more nuanced explanations from qualitative research at the individual level can be analysed.

Braun and Recchi find that those who migrate for expressive reasons are more likely to identify with the receiving country than those who migrate for instrumental reasons. However in this chapter I find that, among post-accession Polish parents, a contrasting picture is found (this does not contradict their overall findings which encompassed all migrants). In particular it would be misleading for this family group, to suggest that those who migrate for 'expressive' reasons are more likely to integrate and settle as a result, as those who originally migrated seeking new experiences and lifestyles also seem more likely to move on. A further problem with this distinction is that when rationales are analysed at the individual level, 'expressive' and 'instrumental' reasons for migration often coincide; for example, migrating for new experience for some of the respondents presented in this chapter, also improves future career prospects, and so is instrumental. Migrating for better paid work, on the other hand, may coincidentally lead to different or improved lifestyle in a number of 'expressive' ways, for example, finding public behaviours more pleasant as described in Chapter 5, or accessing better leisure facilities.

An alternative way of relating onward migration to the initial migration decision is to look at whether future movement might stem from a perception of the original migration project as having either succeeded or failed. From respondents' accounts it seems possible that onward migration could arise from either possibility. If the migration project is seen as a strategy of continuing mobility, either with the ultimate aim of settling in the most desirable country of those experienced, or for the purpose of long-term self-improvement or career-advancement, then onward migration can form part of a successful realisation of this strategy. Alternatively, onward migration may be considered at a point when the original migration project is perceived as having failed, for example because of lack of employment or failure to integrate. Some respondents presented onward migration as a strategy which could potentially be adopted if things went wrong in the UK, but this situation had not as yet become a reality for any of the respondents, and its likelihood appeared to be receding as families became established, formed networks and developed plans for their futures in Edinburgh.

Discourses of 'openness' examined

Distinguishing Scottish and Polish mentalities

A discourse of 'openness' recurred in respondents' accounts and was used in distinctive ways by those considering onward migration. Across the whole group, however, its most frequent use related to comparisons between the 'typical' Scottish and Polish mentality. Respondents repeatedly described people in Scotland as being 'open', and contrasted this with Polish people, characterised as 'closed'. I asked Teresa, a mother who made this assertion, what was meant:

> **Teresa**: People are more welcoming more friendly and open here than in Poland.
> **Lucy:** *Several people have told me that people are more 'open' here - what do you mean by that?*
> **Teresa:** I can give you an example. When you are a young mother, you have an absolutely gorgeous.. the most beautiful baby in your pram, and you go through the park and obviously you want everybody to notice how beautiful your child is, and people notice you in Scotland [..] I couldn't just walk through the city without being stopped and told how beautiful my child was and I loved that. And then I went to Poland. My daughter was only 2 months old and I expected pretty much the same, everybody telling me how beautiful she is and clever and whatever, but.. they were stopping me, but not to tell me she was beautiful, but to tell me that I don't dress her properly, that she doesn't have a hat because it's windy, [..] 'You should know better - you are a mother!' The difference!

'Openness' is used to encompass both warmth and helpfulness to strangers and also tolerance of difference. In contrast to such behaviours in Scotland, Polish people are characterised by interviewees as being uninterested in meeting new or different people, as lacking tolerance of difference and as unfriendly and unhelpful to strangers. Being 'closed' for example, is used to describe the way that service-providers in bureaucratic contexts in Poland are not just unhelpful, but even seen to want to provide obstacles to access to services (see Chapter 5), while openness was used to describe willingness on the part of Polish migrants to integrate with new

people as well as showing tolerance of other immigrant groups in the UK. Other Polish migrants are described as 'closed' when they mix exclusively with other Poles as Łukasz describes:

> Sometimes you're meeting people [who say] to you 'For what am I learning English? I don't know English, that's perfect for me. Lots of people here - maybe not lots - 50% definitely, they come here and they definitely don't know for what. I know: I want to change my life. (Łukasz)

A further implication carried by some respondents' use of the term 'closed' is that someone's thought-processes and conversations are restricted to familiar and negative patterns. Thus, 'closed', carries many of the characteristics identified by Merton (1968) in his definition of the 'local', as opposed to the cosmopolitan. Polish people are described as always complaining about the weather or their health.

> Some Polish girls, they are very open, but some are very closed most of the time, complaining about the weather. It's a bit cold in Scotland, so you have to accept it. (Hania)

Respondents cited different possible reasons for the relatively 'closed' attitudes and behaviour of Polish people, including that Polish people have more financial worries; needing to watch out for their own interests they are less trusting toward strangers. Speaking of differences between Poland and the UK, Agnieszka says:

> Maybe people here have indeed less problems than in Poland. They are more open, more friendly because they don't have to really worry about the basic things - like food. In Poland you've got to stop yourself from many more pleasures. (Agnieszka)

Similarly Dominika links the problems of life in Poland with lack of openness to other people:

> The people [in Scotland] I think are really friendly, better than in Poland, because people in Poland they've got lots and lots of problems (Dominika)

Respondents also highlighted that the ethnic homogeneity of the Polish population had generated a habitual distrust of the foreigner. These norms of Polish society are compared with a Scottish society with its relatively affluent standard of living, Edinburgh as a cosmopolitan city, and Scotland as accustomed to immigration from diverse countries (although respondents were also aware of negative attitudes to immigration in the UK).

Attitudes to mobility

A further societal difference which relates to 'openness' is suggested by Józef, who notes that people appear less 'tied down' to their localities in Scotland:

> Whereas everyone else in Poland is much more tied to their neighbourhood their area - they don't move area.. In Scotland, people are more used to moving; they're not as settled in their land of origin. I may be wrong but in my opinion, people here are less tied down. (Józef, translated)

This link between mobility and openness was evident also in the way respondents often attributed 'openness' (most often implicitly) to themselves; for some this is something they are proud to have attained and the decision to migrate in itself is presented as evidence of openness, since it involves the decision to leave the familiar and try out a new environment and meet new people. The attitudes of these respondents reflect the concept of 'the cosmopolitan', a person who is prepared to go into the unknown and who is able to adapt, demonstrative of a superior and more intellectual approach than that shown by the 'local'.

Some respondents explained their own failure to meet local people, by applying this Polish characteristic of a 'closed' and less outgoing nature to themselves; for example, Patryk, in relation to meeting other parents at their children's school says:

> **Lucy:** *Do you meet the parents at all?*

> **Patryk:** Not really. Unfortunately, Polish people are not as open as Scottish people. They're not as confident.

Applying the term to himself, Patryk presents being 'closed' in terms of not being outgoing and lacking self-confidence, in contrast to its more common use by respondents to imply lack of tolerance or willingness to engage.

Self-improvement and personal gain from travel and new experience

Those respondents who consider themselves open to new experience often stress that Polish migrants should be more open, because of the personal gains resulting from engagement with new experiences, people and culture, as well as because this would generate a better public image of Polish migrants. Julia, who described herself as having migrated for change and a new experience, says, of those Poles who migrate from economic necessity:

> And for everybody, even for those who *had* to do this, it's really, really good to have to face different reality - not so different - but language and culture. (Julia)

Łukasz similarly emphasises that new experience is good for you:

> It's better for you if you have more experience.. it's better for you - two or three languages, it's not a problem with languages - but you must be trying [..] all different countries, all traditions, looking where is better, where is not, what's happened here, what's happened [t]here.

Several respondents felt that the experience of migration had changed them personally. This change was invariably presented as positive and associated with increased confidence and competence, attributed either to the experience of working in the UK, and from having coped and overcome obstacles in difficult situations that had initially been alien to them, or to the removal of constant financial worries:

> I realise that I've changed since before I came here, and now it's two different people. Before I came here I was [..] scared to go somewhere, ask something, not so confident [..] Every year I'm getting more confidence. And now when we started our business, it's another step. So I think it's helped me, that I'm not so closed, I'm more open to people. I'm not so scared. (Dagmara)

Oliwia, attributes her ability to cope with separation from her partner in Edinburgh to her experience of migration, saying:

> the fact that that I moved from Poland and [I've] been in London and then here, and learnt these different things - it makes me tougher (Oliwia)

While presenting travel and new experience as personally beneficial, respondents also accepted that some people were just not going to try it, because of individual temperament, age and/or lack of previous experience of travel and, quite commonly, fear of flying. This was a source of frustration for several respondents whose friends and families in Poland refused to visit them. Some respondents were critical of such behaviour, arguing that their excuses were not well-founded, for others it was accepted that some people just preferred to have familiar things around them. Merton's local-cosmopolitan distinction is again implicit in the characterisation of those who are open to travel and those who are not.

> **Lucy:** *And have any of your friends come to visit or maybe will come..?*
> **Łukasz:** This is so stupid, because when I'm asking people, 'Just come on, what's the problem just go for a holiday, see what's happening, how it looks.' Every time - 'No', 'Maybe not this year', or 'I'm coming', 'When?', 'I don't know when'.
> Sometimes it's so stupid, because when you're going to any other country abroad [..] you see how a different culture [works], it's very helpful for learning. Sometimes I just - I don't understand people. I'm happy when I go to another [country] and see what's happening, how people are living

Some respondents also attributed this 'closed' mentality to certain kinds of Scots, linking it to lack of education or experience. Oliwia argued that lack of education leads to negative attitudes towards immigrants, as people fail to understand how

immigration benefits Scotland. She lived in London previously and argues that Scots have not yet become accustomed to immigration as Londoners have. Her language again draws on the restricted mindset of the 'local' as she claims that 'smart people and intelligent people, they look at the whole picture' while 'some people look at the very small picture.. so you do need to open your mind a little bit more'(Oliwia).

Diana and Ryszard attribute these differences both to education level and experience of immigration in different regions:

> **Ryszard:** Edinburgh's a good place you know. Scottish people still, they have to change their thinking and some things are very similar to Polish, because 99% of people in Poland are white Polish people, and for them all changes are [bad]. So Edinburgh is good because there's all the people at the university and people coming from abroad and there's a mixture. I know it's more difficult in Glasgow, and of course it gets more difficult in Aberdeen and Inverness and so, yeah. [..]
> Just a few streets and behind us there's (a) council area where the thinking of people are wrong.
> **Diana:** It's just lack of education, it's like everywhere really, where you are stuck in like an area where people don't have much education and are closed to new things or to strangers.

Personal identity as mobile

Another element from the 'mobilities' literature evident in respondents use of the metaphor of 'openness' was the importance of freedom of movement and choice over one's location. Some respondents were particularly enthusiastic about mobility, expressing views in common with Favell's 'Eurostars' (Favell, 2008a) about the importance of the freedom to roam, of the resulting self-improvement and the notion of continuing travelling until one found the best place to settle. Łukasz, was one of two fathers who expressed these sentiments particularly vehemently (see case study 1 for the other). He describes his life prior to coming to Edinburgh, when, having left his wife and children in Poland he worked abroad:

Łukasz: Before, I tried different two or three countries for a short time

Lucy: *Where did you go?*

Łukasz: Malta, Italy, sometimes going for a short time to Germany. Different lifestyles, but I'm always starting alone. I'm a world globetrotter.. I want to try different countries.

In Łukasz's account (as well as Paweł's, as discussed in case study 1 below) it is clearly the father's personal perspective that is being expressed, rather than the joint view of the couple. The mobility talked about is something that they are personally proud to have achieved and reluctant to relinquish. They both acknowledge however that having a family means this kind of freedom is necessarily time-bounded.

For a few parents, one factor in considering onward migration was the preference *not* to return to Poland. Some said they were simply not yet ready for return, as the adventure and experience had not yet lasted long enough to fulfil its purpose. Julia for example says that while they are enjoying life in Edinburgh, she would consider onward migration, but she feels that it is too soon to return to Poland:

> I mean, I think I feel like I want to spend more time outside Poland, maybe to travel to different countries and stay here in Scotland to gain some knowledge. (Julia)

For others who have decided against return to Poland outright, the choice is between staying in the UK or migrating to a third country. Łukasz says:

> At this moment, I definitely know I'm staying here. Maybe if I must be going, I'm going to another country, but not back to Poland. (Łukasz)

The transience of mobility

In respondents' accounts, having children was frequently linked with the necessity to end the mobility stage. Some parents describe this as a natural and desirable step:

> **Filip:** We are open, but we are looking for some[where to] settle. We cannot change places all the time. [..]
> **Edyta:** We know that we have a window of opportunity to travel before she starts going to school. Once she starts her primary school you have to stay in that place for longer, we don't want to move and mess up her psyche (laughs) with constant moving

Izabela and Jakub considered onward migration to Canada before they had children, but having children they now think it would have been too far from Poland:

> **Lucy:** *Would you consider going on to a third country?*
> **Izabela:** We were thinking about that, but that was quite a while ago, before the children were born, we were thinking about Canada [..] But obviously now we don't think about that,
> **Lucy:** *You didn't know where you were going to settle then..?*
> **Izabela:** But also thinking about living here, we are able to go to Poland three times a year, thinking about moving to Canada, it would be really, really difficult.

For most people, making a family life entails building and maintaining social networks and adopting local cultural practices as their own. Being free to choose which culture to adopt is part of the joy of being mobile, but it is necessary at some point to settle in one place to allow these aspects of life to develop. Several respondents who expressed positive feelings about mobility emphasised how they had limited time to enact this lifestyle, some because it is seen as requiring energy and youth, but most because of the desirability of stability for family life.

Łukasz, who had been joined by his family shortly before we met, at the first interview talked about onward migration with enthusiasm, but at the second interview, having spent a year in Edinburgh together and with his two children happily enrolled in primary and secondary school, they are now considering buying the flat they are renting, and he is no longer considering moving on.

Most parents felt that once their children were in schooling they should not disrupt their lives by migrating again, expressing their concern to avoid damaging their children's educational chances, social networks or sense of rootedness and security. Ola, who, unusually, plans to return to Poland during the early stages of her daughter Laura's schooling, nevertheless wants to return to Poland before she starts secondary school. She thinks that migrating will be workable, but has similar concerns to other parents about disturbing Laura's sense of rootedness:

> ..that's my concern with Laura, because for us going back to Poland, we would be going back home, but for her Scotland would be home, so she would be feeling this sort of misplaced thing.. (Ola)

The cosmopolitan attitude and other rationales for planning to move on

Original migration for new experience

The distinction between cosmopolitan and local attitudes was linked above to 'expressive' and 'instrumental' reasons for migration. Looking at families' accounts, some parents among Group 2 families, who migrated primarily from financial hardship and so for 'instrumental' reasons, also stated that the desire to experience something new had been an element in their original decision to migrate; none of these families, however, were contemplating onward migration in the short term.

Several Group 1 parents, who had migrated before starting families, stated that 'new experience' had been a factor relevant to their original migration. Since these parents also said they migrated to save money and return, they too can be considered as having migrated for both 'expressive' and 'instrumental' reasons. As described in Chapter 6, work and care lifestyle options (not easily placed as 'expressive' or 'instrumental') in the UK have been important to these parents' lives and most Group 1 parents have not maintained a desire for continued mobility, but, perhaps as a result of these lifestyle factors, stated that they would not consider onward migration.

A small number of respondent parents, however, migrated originally with the desire for a change or new experience and have maintained a desire to migrate to a third destination. Four families stated on the questionnaire both that their original reasons for migration included 'new experience' and that they would like to migrate to a third country, and two out of these families are actively planning onward migration at the time of the study. These two couples however also describe their moves as also assisting with career progression, so that instrumental reasons are yet again implicated in migration plans. Filip and Edyta moved to London during the study year (it should perhaps be noted here that they did not present this as a move to a third country, but as an internal move within Britain), and Paweł is looking for employment in another European country (see case study 1).

Motivations for onward migration and the decision-making process

Some parents who consider onward migration have more specific reasons for doing so. Dominika is a lone parent with two children and for her, openness to onward migration seems to follow on from her openness to who she might form a future relationship with - the one thing she says she is sure of is that he will not be Polish. Teresa and Janusz live and work in a Christian residential home for people with disabilities; she links their reason for openness about future migration to being receptive for God's purpose for them; she suggests they may perhaps migrate to Africa.

> **Lucy:** *What are the key things that would change your mind about going back or staying?*
>
> **Teresa:** It's hard for me to say, because we are Christian and we really believe that anything - there is nothing which comes in our life by accident, everything is for a purpose, and I really work in my life on my purpose, so it's hard to say - there may be really a thousand reasons to go back to Poland or to go somewhere else. I don't stop myself from travelling, from thinking about going somewhere else.

Several parents' thoughts about onward migration stemmed from knowledge of a

particular destination, through previously living there or having contacts there. Two families had friends in New Zealand and had long harboured a desire to migrate there, but difficulties with accessing visas meant that both families had rejected this idea, at least for the near future. Parents in two other families had previously lived in the US, and both viewed returning there as highly desirable, but ruled it out again because of difficulties in obtaining a visa.

For those considering onward migration, part of the process of deciding about whether and where to go, just as with decisions about original migration or about return, is making an assessment of relative opportunities in and benefits of each destination. Weronika and Daria balance factors including the physical and career appeal of potential destination countries, proximity to Poland and to their parents, financial security and the weather. Edyta and Filip, who both lived in the US previously, compare the benefits of life there with those in the UK: Edyta focuses on the weather in Scotland, while Filip compares the high standard of living in the US with security provided by the welfare state in the UK:

> **Lucy:** *There wouldn't be an option of going back to the States?*
> **Edyta:** Maybe
> **Filip:** If there was an option we would move, honestly, we would move there.
> **Lucy:** *You would be happier there?*
> **Edyta:** I don't know. From the weather point of view yes, because..
> **Filip:** Because in the States, everything was 'Wow, It's great, Wow!'
> **Edyta:** Not everything.
> **Filip:** The weather, money and the job and so on. But here we appreciate that the health system is better than the private health system over there, more security, stability. Here is sort of low profile; over there is 'Wow, wow, wow!' OK, that's my feeling, and low profile, it's sometimes better than everything being 'Wow, Wow!' in the States. Here when something bad happens to you I know the government takes care of you, but in the States - maybe homeless (laughs).
> **Edyta:** My [main concern] in Scotland is the weather. This, I have to say, is a *big* minus for me, because [more than] other factors, it really [affects] how I feel, it's [lack of] sunshine basically. It's a big minus for me.

While several respondents had migrated first to England, none considered returning there, all portraying Edinburgh as an improvement on their previous location in England. Two families who had migrated directly to Scotland however considered onward migration to the South of England and Edyta and Filip moved to London during the year of the study. On completing her nursing degree, Edyta found that jobs in England were better paid and offered both better hours and better prospects than those advertised in Scotland. They also suggested that the NHS in England allowed migrants to progress further and quicker than that in Scotland. The couple had bought a flat in Edinburgh and were unable immediately to sell it, and so rented it out when they moved to London, but they thought it unlikely they would return to Edinburgh.

In May 2011 Germany lifted its employment restrictions for Polish migrants. While several respondents thought it likely that other Polish migrants in the UK would move on there, no families in the study were considering this for themselves. Respondents recognised that living in Germany would have the advantage of making visits to family and friends in Poland much easier and parents were aware of financial incentives offered by the German government to potential migrants; several respondents had previously worked in Germany and spoke German. Two couples however highlighted concerns about poor relationships that had developed over previous decades between Germans and Polish workers, when many Poles from Western Poland migrated to work in Germany, often illegally on short contracts. Artur had worked there previously on regular 3-4 month contracts, and considered travelling from the UK to do this again, but he has heard that German attitudes to Poles are negative:

> I lived with a Polish family and worked with Polish people. I don't know what it's like outside. We have a German friend and he tells me it's not very nice, and lots people say that German people don't like Polish [people]. German people [used to say] about Polish people about 15 years ago, that lots of Polish people stole German cars. Germans, they say speaking amongst themselves, 'If you're looking for your car, you go on holiday to Poland – it's waiting for you there!' Not now, it's OK, but 15 years ago - 20 years ago. (Artur)

Kinga and Grzesiek describe onward migration in the context of the options that would be available to them if things went badly in the UK, raising the possibility of onward migration resulting from 'failure' of the original migration project. They also point out that having once migrated makes further migration easier. Kinga emphasises how previously she did not see herself as someone who would ever migrate:

> ..if we feel bad, very bad in this country, we would probably go, but I don't know if to Poland, maybe to a different country. If you go once, I think it's easier to..
>
> ..
>
> If someone had told us five years ago that I would move to a different country, I would say 'You are stupid'. I had never thought about that, never! (Kinga)

Motility

While mobility is accepted by almost all families in the study as time-bounded, several families are prepared to migrate again so long as their children are under school age. Part of the purpose in mobility at this stage is gathering information in order to find the country and location offering the best combination of career and lifestyle opportunities for their family. Not all families who consider onward mobility are able to adopt this strategy; in order to do so, parents need to possess employment skills that are transferable between countries - 'transferability' in this context is distinct from that utilised in discussions of 'transferable skills' in a non-migration context (Csedo, 2008). Transferability of this kind may be provided either by professional or skilled work, where migrants also have strong language skills and also by some kinds of skilled employment which do not require strong language skills. Secondly, in addition to these work skills, in order to plan future mobility, migrants need to be able to access networks and information sources appropriate to their plans. Migrants must be able to find and communicate appropriately in response to job advertisements or with employment networks, as well as able to assess and organise housing, schooling, child-care and other practical issues involved in settling

in their chosen destination. Together these elements constitute high levels of 'motility' (Kaufman *et al.*, 2004).

Across the group, respondents who were graduates, who had strong English (and often other European languages) were those most likely to be considering onward migration. Parents in the two families described above, who were considering an onward move in the short term, were all graduates with strong English and professional qualifications in their employment field. While numbers within the study group are small, these findings suggest that education level, work and language skills are important to making onward migration plans.

The usefulness of high levels of 'motility' was apparent in this group not only in relation to onward migration, but also for some, in relation to return migration. Two families who wanted to return to Poland described how they hoped to make use of their migration experience to set up their own businesses in Poland, utilising some of the skills and networks they have built while in Edinburgh. Andrzej qualified in IT before migration and has set up his own web-design business in Edinburgh. He hopes to move back to Poland and develop his business there, retaining UK clients and extending the business to Polish clients as well. His wife, Grażyna assesses that, even though unemployment in Poland is high, improvements may be beginning to happen in their area, due she feels in part to the appointment of a new city president in their nearest city, Wrocław. They see possibilities for computer professionals in their region:

> Andrzej wants to return to our small town, that's why he wants to get some contacts with good people, like Sebastian, a good contact [from] there working in the same profession. Sebastian is working here and when we are planning in a few years to return maybe Andrzej can work for Scotland, through the internet. (Grażyna)

Andrzej explains his hopes for the business:

> I was even thinking about working for Scottish clients when I will be back in Poland, because the nature of the work is that I can work from any place around the earth, so it's great.
>
> ..
>
> I think the market is very similar in Poland, because strangely enough the prices of websites are about on the same level, so I could even work for Polish clients there. So it's good. I think it's a very good job in terms of finding a job, because I can have clients around the world, actually, so this is great; we can even be in a small village somewhere and just with my computer, working like this. (Andrzej)

A second couple illustrative of the use of motility in returning to Poland are presented as case study 2 below.

Motility in rationales for property purchase and citizenship applications

Several couples in the study have bought housing in Edinburgh and some have become British citizens. The decision to do this is considered also by several other families across the study group. These actions might be anticipated to indicate a desire to settle, however, while some migrants described their rationales for these decisions in the context of intentions for long term settlement, others viewed them as instrumental in other ways, including in assisting future mobility. The kinds of rationales presented for these two decisions provide a good illustration of how access to information and levels of 'motility' are implicated in migrant strategies.

Property

While several Group 1 and 2 parents hoped to buy their flats, across the group, owner-occupation is more indicative of families' financial capacity to do so rather than of their intention to stay. Property ownership was portrayed by those respondents who had been able to afford it as a sound financial investment, regardless of plans to settle for the long term. While respondents from all of the family types felt that ownership would provide better quality housing and the all-

important security of tenure, both of the families who were actively planning onward migration owned their flats in Edinburgh. A potential problem with having arrived just after 2004, is that this period coincided with a peak in housing-prices in the UK, followed by falling prices as the financial crisis impacted. Lower prices can potentially limit these migrants' ability to sell if they are in 'negative equity' or because the house market is slow, and so limit their future mobility. Neither of the families planning to move on however assessed that this would prevent them acting on their plans, and one family as described rented their flat out when they moved to London. In contrast, most Group 2 and several Group 1 families, while they would like to buy a house to provide a secure family home for the future cannot yet afford to do so, and for them social housing provides the alternative way of achieving security of tenure.

Citizenship applications

A second course of action taken by several respondents and considered by others, was applying for British Citizenship. Respondents gave differing reasons for choosing to do this, but again there seem to be patterns distinguishing families in different groups and with different priorities and levels of access to information. For those Group 3 families who had gained citizenship, the decision to apply does not primarily relate to an intention to stay in the UK, but instead from an awareness of the gain in ease of access to other countries from holding a British passport. For those wanting to try out a potentially risky onward migration or return strategy, British citizenship is seen as guaranteeing the fall-back option of being able to return to Britain if their new move didn't work out, or the employment situation in Britain improved. Achieving this for some justified staying in the UK for five years to be eligible for citizenship:

> Right now I'm thinking, if we stay here [long] enough and try to get British passports, I don't know how easy it's going to be, but after 5 years you can start the process of that. It would make it much easier if we think in the future [about] travelling somewhere, it could be easier, so my opinion is that we should stay here. (Rafał)

Other rationales for achieving British citizenship shared by families across all groups included: that their children had been born in the UK and have British citizenship as a result, and parents wish to share their children's citizenship, and that parents want to be able to engage fully with British institutional life.

Some Group 2 parents had further primary rationales for applying for citizenship or for proof of residency. One family applied for certificates of residency because they believed that these helped with accessing employment, and in applying for social housing through demonstrating an intention to stay in the UK. Mariola, who had been refused promotion in her housekeeping job for a hotel chain, intended to apply for citizenship as she felt that she was being discriminated against for being Polish. These strategies however, while relating to a genuine desire for permanent settlement, seem less well-informed or likely to be successful than those adopted by the Group 3 families with better access to information - and thus higher levels of 'motility'.

Property purchase and citizenship applications are thus engaged in differently by families with different levels of 'motility', depending on their access to information relevant to utilising the gains from these courses of action in relation to their strategies in employment, investment and onward migration. Group 3 parents with the highest levels of 'motility' appear to be able to assess and utilise these strategies most effectively.

Case studies

To illustrate the discourses and strategies discussed in this chapter, I present two case studies. The first couple, Ewa and Paweł, are planning to migrate to continental Europe as soon as possible after our second interview, while the second are hoping to utilise skills and networks in the UK and Poland to devise a way of returning to their home town there.

1. Ewa and Paweł

Ewa and Paweł and their 15 month old daughter Blanka live in a stylish new-build apartment on the border between a middle class suburb and the area of social housing where most Group 2 families in the study live. They both graduated in Architecture in 2004; viewing job opportunities in Poland as poor and liking the idea of travel, they looked for architect posts across Europe shortly afterwards. Paweł was particularly interested in Scotland and Ireland as he had an interest in Gaelic and Celtic mythology and language. Unusually among younger respondents in the group, they chose not to look for jobs in London.

> I sent [CV]s all over Europe, mainly to Scotland and Ireland. [..] The plan was just to enjoy ourselves, see the country, treat it like a bit of extended well-paid holiday

While they originally planned to stay for a maximum of a year, they extended their stay after both finding jobs with architect firms. They explain this decision as based on a comparison between the standard of living they could afford in Scotland and Poland as well as their enjoyment of leisure-pursuits in the Scottish mountains.

They describe how over time, with the pound falling relative to the złoty, their earnings in Scotland compared less well with potential earnings in Poland. When the economic crisis hit, as a result of this and the reduction in work for architects, several of their friends returned to Poland. But they instead began to consider and plan onward migration. Paweł explains:

> We still managed to keep our jobs. We were thinking of going somewhere else, not necessarily to Poland, just to explore a bit more. I always wanted to go to Switzerland because they are really high-tech, they really know about design, so I thought that would be certainly the place to go and learn, so why not? You know, Switzerland's a perfect place to be.

Paweł presents the idea of onward migration as an almost casual decision, emphasising a free-roaming take-it-or-leave-it lifestyle providing excitement, in line

with the ‘cosmopolitan’ discourse. He emphasises their freedom to make the decision to move if they decide to for ‘expressive’ reasons, to live in the ‘perfect place’ and ‘explore a bit more’, but also presents a potential move in terms of its potential to assist career progression, offering new professional experiences in a high-tech environment.

After a year in Edinburgh they had bought a small flat, and when Blanka was due they bought a bigger flat and rented out the first. At the time of the first interview however, in March 2010, house-prices had fallen, and they were concerned that selling the flats might be problematic if they want to move on. In discussing this Paweł demonstrates his personal attachment to a mobile identity, and the discomfort he feels about obstacles to free movement:

> I don’t like the idea that it would be difficult to move. Because previously that was the whole idea about buying places here was that we can get rid of them any time we wanted and we can go anywhere. And now being tied in here it just doesn’t feel that comfortable any more.

Another practical concern is schooling for Blanka. They have heard that the curriculum in Scotland is roughly two years behind that in Poland and that there is a lack of discipline in British schools; he suggests that, ‘from that point of view I think that Switzerland would be a really good place to be’.

When I ask about their views of societal difference more generally, Paweł starts by focusing on ‘openness’ in relation to attitudes to mobility, drawing on the ‘local’/ ‘cosmopolitan’ divide between Polish and British mentalities:

> There are certainly reasons why it would be nice for Blanka to grow up here, because, I guess, people in Poland, for example, have this burden of coming from the communist past and perceive the world in a different way, just kind of feel slightly blocked in their small world and, I think, find it difficult to find a way out and just to go travelling, or don’t really perceive Europe as a really open place, first thing. People in Britain they basically see the whole world as an open place. There’s

> things that they would do - easily decide to move to, I don't know, Australia, or, God knows, decide to travel around South America for 2 years, or whatever, just because they want to and they know that they can. There's just this nice feeling of freedom and open-mindedness that's here.

In discussing their experience of migration the metaphor of 'openness' recurs, together with the argument that new experience is self-improving:

> **Paweł:** It's a hugely mind-opening experience actually, which is good, and that's another reason why I would certainly like to go to another place, even though if I feel here absolutely perfect, I would still like to try another country, just to be..
> **Ewa:** to compare
> **Paweł:** yeah, to be sure it's the right choice.
> **Ewa:** and if not, you can always come back here
> **Paweł:** exactly
> **Ewa:** or go somewhere else..

Onward migration would then also present an opportunity to test out a third location and assess whether it is the best place to settle, while the UK and/or Poland are fall-back options if this doesn't work out.

By the second interview in Spring 2011, Ewa has been made redundant and there have also been redundancies at Paweł's work which have soured the atmosphere there. They had set up their own architect business, but in the current climate no one is prepared to commit to large-scale projects. Paweł has been keeping an eye on the employment market for over a year. He says he has only seen one job in Scotland, but many more in Switzerland, paying much higher salaries. They have also both been learning French in preparation for an onward move.

As well as looking for jobs in Switzerland, they keep abreast, through friends, of the situation for architects in Poland. They refer to Poland as a fall-back option, with friends and family there to support you if things go wrong and easier access to clients through personal networks, but Paweł implies that return would represent failure:

> I don't want to just be back in the place where we grew up. The world is out there for me to explore, so I think it's worth trying, figure out where it tastes best.

But, they are also aware of issues involved in onward migration, including the time it takes to establish oneself professionally in a new country:

> If I move to another country where I don't know the regulations, I don't have the contacts, I don't have the right.. because architects they don't work in isolation, we need everybody around, Q.S.'s, project managers, engineers, everybody to help us out. You need to have a good network before you can start bidding for work, and it takes time to develop.

Assessing different destinations is made easier for them by the network of friends and family they have across Europe. Ewa's sister works in Germany, Paweł has relatives in France, and they have friends in Wales, Nice, Barcelona and Geneva whom they visit in a summer trip during the year of the study. These networks provide useful information about the realities and options in different locations.

In discussing what they are looking for in the ideal destination, they emphasise the balance to be made between lifestyle and career progression, factors that sometimes conflict; their ideal would be a small town near mountains with good employment opportunities. While they are currently thinking of Switzerland, they have some reservations from what they've heard about Swiss people and curiously the metaphor of 'open' or 'closed' mentalities recurs:

> **Paweł:** it's just that everybody complains about Swiss people, which is a little bit of a concern..
> **Lucy:** *In what respect..?*
> **Ewa:** They're a bit closed.

Throughout the interview the couple refer to the limited time they have for being mobile before Blanka starts school and they also want to allow her first to learn the language. Poland is again referenced in this connection as a fall-back option.

Children start school in Switzerland at five, but as Ewa points out, 'in Poland, it's still six, so if you don't like it you can always go back'.

During the year of the study they became British citizens. They present several reasons for this: first, British citizenship opens up options for the future, for return to Scotland, for travel beyond Europe and for working in other European countries. Also importantly, Blanka was born here and so already had British citizenship while they did not. They were also concerned that it might become more difficult to gain citizenship or to re-enter the UK in the future and finally, it will allow them to participate fully in British life and to vote, although they don't think it likely they will be making use of this.

2. Dagmara and Bruno

Dagmara and Bruno, similarly to Paweł and Ewa, frequently reassess their best options for the future, and hope to make use of their experience of migration to the UK in their future migration strategy and employment. However, their options and approach are very different. Although Dagmara is a graduate, her English isn't fluent and her degree in Property Economics is not utilisable in Edinburgh; also they very much want to return to Poland.

Dagmara came to Edinburgh in 2005, shortly after graduating, following a cousin and sharing a flat with her; she worked at a delicatessen alongside other Polish migrants. In Poland she had been working in a bar and Bruno as a painter; his work didn't pay well and the bar where she worked was failing. Initially they expected to stay in the UK for about a year and save enough to 'do something' – set up a small business - in Poland, but they didn't save as much as they felt they needed, and so extended their stay. Their daughter is 10 months old at our first interview. Dagmara describes in this interview how, after years of deliberation and vacillation, they have decided to stay permanently. They come from a small town in South East Poland which has, typically for the region, fared badly economically in recent years and they have failed to identify any viable business they could run there. Many local shops

have gone bankrupt and they judge that a small delicatessen such as they have in Edinburgh would be unsuccessful there, as people wouldn't shop at a small store when supermarkets are cheaper.

The couple took over management of a Polish delicatessen in central Edinburgh shortly before we meet in 2010. They manage it between them, alternating who looks after their daughter. Dagmara is positive about living in Edinburgh, although she misses the green and safe locality around their Polish home, where her daughter could have played safely outside. Always working with other Polish migrants, she hasn't made any British friends and her English is not as good as other migrants in Group 1 families. They can't afford a paid employee to work in the shop which is open daytime and evenings, Monday to Saturday, and in the afternoons on Sundays:

> It's very hard with life without a break you know. All the time it's the same, every day, you know. You don't have the time when you can think that, 'Oh, tomorrow I have off'.

Dagmara's mother lives on her own and is unemployed in Poland, regularly migrating to Italy for short periods of work. She recently visited Edinburgh to help out in the shop, and they discussed whether she might move to Edinburgh permanently. The couple appear to be constantly thinking through different possibilities for future work and migration strategies which fulfil their own, their daughter's and her mother's interests.

At the second interview, they are still running the shop and have found someone to help out on Sundays, but still can't afford to pay an employee to give them more free time. Their daughter now attends a private nursery 2 ½ days a week, which allows them more freedom. Over the year they have changed their minds and they are now actively planning to go back to Poland in a few months' time. The primary reason Dagmara gives relates to her daughter growing up in Scotland:

> ..even if you [Scottish people] are very tolerant and polite, I think that my daughter will never be the same with [as] a Scottish baby

She likens the UK to all European countries in this respect - a foreigner will never quite be the same as the locals - and contrasts this to the US, where the whole population come from different countries. More specifically, she expresses concerns about the private-state school divide in Edinburgh. She says she has heard that state schools only teach 40% of the curriculum taught in private schools, and that their quality varies with area. Since they will not be able to afford to live in an expensive area, she feels that they cannot ensure a good education for their daughter. As described in Chapter 5, Dagmara has ascertained, from talking with Polish migrant customers in their shop that most Polish migrant families, unable to afford to rent flats privately that are big enough for families, apply for social housing and live in poorer areas in Edinburgh alongside people from lower social classes. She feels that living in these areas potentially impedes opportunities for Polish children, and draws on the metaphor of being 'closed' in describing the effects on a child of growing up in such an area. She contrasts this with life in Poland, where although standard of living may be lower overall, she feels there is a level playing field for all; if they return, her daughter will have the same opportunities as every other child.

In relation to the decision to return Dagmara also describes a friend telling her that in Poland she felt really alive, with family and social life, while in the UK life was routine, consisting only of work and sleep. She points out that in Poland her mother could look after their daughter, and this would allow them a better social life and more leisure time. As an afterthought, she adds, along with several other mothers, the not trivial factor of Poland's better climate.

Dagmara describes her decision to return at the end of a long period of vacillation:

> For a few years I've always been thinking about coming back, not coming back.. I'm always changing my mind. I could change my mind every month I have a difference, but now I think it's my - last word, yes? It's my last word, because I have an idea, or I decided what I want to do in Poland, because when all the time I didn't know what I wanted to do - it's very hard to find a job, a good job - so it was hard to make a decision, but now, if I know what I want to do, it's quite easy - not so easy - but it's a small light. I see a small light.

Taking into account the economic situation in their area, the couple have formed what they assess to be a viable business plan to set up a business in Poland importing second-hand and excess-stock British-label clothing to sell to local shops; Dagmara has seen shops selling British clothes there on her visits home. She has not as yet made enough contacts here to act on this plan (and she asks if I might be able to help). On return, they plan initially to live with her mother, and then to buy her mother a flat and live in the family home themselves.

She describes the economic situation in the UK as gradually deteriorating, and that in Poland as, perhaps, slowly improving. But when I ask whether, if the situation here improved, they might stay longer, she emphasises how much they miss home and how she really wants a chance to try out independent adult life in Poland:

> No, no, no! You know, I realise that I'll always be missing.. Because when I came here I'd never had a family, and I'd lived in Poland, but with my parents, so I never tried to live in Poland separately.. on [my] own. So I realise that if I don't go back I'll always be thinking how it would be.

Dagmara says that she has gained confidence living here, and that the experience has transformed her from a shy, 'closed' person to one who can be independent and meet new people. Living in Edinburgh has also allowed them to save some money to buy a flat in Poland, something that she thinks would probably have been impossible had they not migrated. Like Ewa and Paweł she presents return to Edinburgh as a fall-back option if things don't work out, and sees the time in which they can migrate and identify the best place to settle as limited by their own ages and their daughter's school start date, as well as the extent to which she has integrated in Edinburgh:

> And I know that if things be [go] wrong in Poland, I can always go back to here. If I'm still young, I can do - everything! I think so (laughs). I can change a few times my life, but after that it's going to be a bit more.. If my daughter is going to school, it would be - maybe it wouldn't be impossible, but you know every step is - and after that she would have friends here.

Discussion of the case studies

While the two families have had quite different experiences of life and work in the UK and are adopting different destinations for future migration, their plans share common elements which distinguish them from the majority of parents in the group. Both couples regularly reassess their situation and are continually researching possibilities for achieving their goal of moving to the 'best' place for their family before their child reaches school age. Both couples are prepared to take risks in migrating over the next couple of years, and consider Scotland as a fall-back option if things don't work out well. Both are actively researching employment options and ultimately plan to run their own husband-and-wife businesses, albeit in quite different sectors. Both couples too, stress the importance of utilising networks of support to assist them in setting up businesses and are weighing up housing and lifestyle options in their potential destination countries and utilising information sources in the UK and destination countries to inform their decision-making.

The metaphor of 'openness' is utilised by both couples, but differently. For both, openness to new experience, with the confidence to go out and form networks both in business and socially, is considered positive. For both, being 'closed' entails less engagement with other people, less awareness of the possibilities open to you, and less tolerance of difference. Dagmara and Bruno however have decided they want to return because of their attachment to her mother and to Poland, and are prepared to live with Dagmara's mother and to try to succeed in business there. From their position as shop-owners they assess, based on what their clients tell them, that the context and options for Polish children in Edinburgh are not as good as they would be in Poland. Ewa and Paweł, in contrast, while considering Poland as a safe fall-back option, see return there as representing failure. For them, in line with the cosmopolitan ideal, 'exploring' is preferable. They, like Dagmara and Bruno, make use of networks of friends and colleagues to collect information to make assessments and plans, but their desire for new experience leads them to plan onward migration.

Of course Ewa and Paweł as qualified architects with fluent English have a different set of options available to them from Dagmara and Bruno, who, although their delicatessen is doing well, cannot afford, for example to buy property in Edinburgh, or to consider private education for their child. This difference impacts both on their likely lifestyles in Poland, where Dagmara and her family will live temporarily with her mother, and in the UK, where Ewa and Paweł can choose to live in a more expensive area than Dagmara and Bruno, and so access a 'better' school and neighbourhood for their daughter. Thus the formation of strategies about whether and where to settle are situated in very different contexts for the two families, as well as reflecting different emphases on the relative appeal of continued mobility and return.

Summary

Families who have young children often see themselves as still free to migrate only until the children start school (White, 2009a p80). Some of these families view the task in hand until that time as being to identify the best place to live; in doing this they regularly assess all the available options and seek to amass the skills, networks and information necessary to negotiate access to the best place for their families' futures. Unsurprisingly, those who are most able to adopt this approach are young professional parents with strong English (and other) language skills. These factors enable them to make social and professional contacts across Europe and to access employment, housing and migration information in relation to potential future moves. These same attributes however also potentially enable these parents to live in the UK in a way which resembles the lives of locals and to 'integrate' to a greater extent than those parents who lack English and work in manual or low-skilled employment. Higher incomes and more leisure time also allow them to buy property in Scotland and to engage more fully in leisure facilities. This leads to the paradoxical finding that parents who can and do integrate most easily are also those who appear most likely to leave.

This chapter has focused on two particular kinds of families within the group who hope to utilise their relatively high levels of 'motility' in leaving the UK. In Chapter

8 I look across the whole respondent group in relation to future plans, and assess and explore how these relate to family characteristics as well as identifying other factors and events that push or pull them in their decision about returning to Poland, settling in Edinburgh, or migrating elsewhere.

Chapter 8: Making and changing decisions about the future

This chapter looks across the whole respondent group and presents and analyses families' plans for the future. I start by briefly summarising relevant contributions from theory in relation to return migration. The main part of the chapter is then divided into three sections, each of which employs a different approach to analysis of the respondent data in relation to future plans. The first section again utilises QCA, again dividing families into groups using the characteristics identified in Chapter 4, but here introducing a variable representing families' expectations in relation to staying or leaving, in order to explore how these vary according to family characteristics. In the second section I identify and analyse key discourses evident in interview narratives relating to the decision to stay or leave, including some which are shared across the whole group and others in relation to which different kinds of families present contrasting views. In doing this, I first look at attitudes expressed about return across the group and then identify and discuss elements highlighted in answers to the question, 'Do you feel at home here?' The study design involved maintaining contact with respondents over a year, and this enabled processes of change to be explored. In the third section, I use questionnaire responses in relation to expectations and preferences about the future from both sets of interviews to identify changes in attitude, and events during the year that influenced families' plans. The final part of the chapter summarises factors highlighted in interviews as relevant to the decision to leave the UK and looks at the five families who left during the year, relating factors in their decision to the three family types identified in Chapter 4.

The intention in adopting a mixed methods approach to analysis in this chapter, as throughout this thesis, is that in combining in-depth qualitative analysis with more structured approaches identifying patterns across the group, the decisions taken by families can be explored and understood more fully than could be achieved using one method of analysis alone. This approach is particularly useful in relation to the

investigation of return and onward migration decisions, where rationales are often over-simplified in interview answers (Gmelch, 1980), and the transformation of intention into action is a complex process involving influential events in families' lives as well as interactions between family members over time.

Factors in the return migration decision

In making decisions about return migration we might expect migrants to go through a similar process to that involved in making the initial migration decision, comparing anticipated income and lifestyle benefits of living in the two countries, with the decision in relation to return, if anything, better informed than the initial migration decision. There are however several considerations implicated in return migration decisions which are not, or not always, involved in a first migration decision. For this respondent group these included:

- *The context provided by intentions and strategies in the original migration*

  Originally migration may have been planned as temporary, for example, some migrants setting themselves 'target savings' to achieve before return, others a target achievement, for example, acquisition of English language or employment experience. Some migrants had a particular duration of stay in mind at the outset, while for others migration was an open-ended adventure. The perceived success or failure of the original migration may be relevant to future plans (as discussed in Chapter 2), if friends and family at home are anticipated as viewing return as failure, or where original targets have yet to be achieved. For migrants who decided to stay longer than their original plans and for all those who have families, original migration intentions however may over time cease to be relevant and 'success' might now be particularly likely to depend on comparisons between expectations of lifestyle between the two countries.

- *Family members in Poland*

  Migration researchers have identified 'missing home' as more important in return decisions than economic factors (e.g. Gmelch, 1980; Schneider and Holman, 2011). This highlights the relevance of where family and friends are located. Most families maintain some social contact networks between countries, and some continue to be responsible for care of family members in Poland, while others had few or no close family or friends in Poland and did not maintain contact.

- *Involvement in a new society*

  Involvement in social networks, schools and employment in the receiving country, provides a disincentive for migrants to return. For families who originally migrated together, return would provide a second major disruption to families' lives and with children now older than at the first migration, their schooling and preferences and social ties are likely to play a greater part. For those who migrated before having children, the return decision has many more implications, with children's interests now added to the calculation.

Previous research further identifies complexities in decision-making over return, and the multi-method approach I adopted in data collection and analysis was designed to enable exploration of these. Coulter *et al.* (2011) identified the importance of distinguishing desires from expectations to move, as these may not coincide. In a further article they highlight the importance of agreement between parents for intentions to move to be acted on (Coulter *et al.*, 2012), in the context of families with older children, as White (2011b) suggests, children's agreement also becomes important to decisions to return. In Chapter 2 I also discussed the temporal element of decision-making; long-standing hopes and plans, assessments of comparative gains in countries and immediate triggers to action interact and may reinforce or counter-act each other. Identified as particularly relevant to Polish families, for example, were comparisons of employment and financial security, spending power

of savings in Poland, and the impact of the immediate experience of visits 'home'. Further it was suggested that with respect to intra-EU migration, lack of border restrictions may make it more likely that return may be regarded as potentially temporary, with 'double return migration' (White, (forthcoming)) considered if life after return does not work out well. These elements among others are identified in the analysis presented here of my respondents' descriptions of their decision-making in relation to return.

Pollard *et al.* were quoted in Chapter 2 as suggesting that among A8 migrants, those staying 'tend to be the better qualified and more aspirational' (Pollard *et al.*, 2008 p55). While this may have been true over the whole range of accession migrants in the few years after Polish accession, among Polish families in 2009-2011, analysis of my respondent data suggests that the opposite is likely to be true.

QCA Analysis of expectation of leaving

In this first section I again make use of a QCA analysis in order to look at how families' plans relate to their family characteristics and membership of the groups identified in Chapter 4. I utilise the group definitions as formulated in Table 4.4, by which twenty-nine of the thirty families fall into three groups, and I introduce a variable to indicate expectation of staying in the short to medium term (values: 0 = do not expect to be 'here' in 5 years; 1 = expect to be 'here' in 5 years). Appendix B describes definitions and thresholds for variable values in detail, but it is worth noting here that a value of '0' could represent that one or both parents state(s) that they are unsure or think they will not be here, or that some members or all of the family have already migrated to a third country or returned to Poland.

Table 8.1 clearly suggests that the different groups are associated with different expectations in the short-term. Fifteen out of the seventeen Group 2 families expect to be here in five years time. Five Group 1 families expect to be here and two to have

left, while none of the five Group 3 families, graduates with advanced English who utilise their skills in the UK, expect to be here in five years.

Table 8.1 Expectations of length of stay (interview 2)

Group No.	Group definition	Advanced English (E)	Degree (D)	Migrated with children (C)	Main earner uses Polish skills (S)	Expect to be here in 5 years	Frequency
1	EDs	1	1	0/1	0	0	2
1	EDs	1	1	0/1	0	1	5
2	eC	0	0/1	1	0/1	0	2
2	eC	0	0/1	1	0/1	1	15
3	EDS	1	1	0/1	1	0	5

(N=29. One couple, Dagmara and Bruno do not fit into this group categorisation, as explained in Chapter 4)

These overall trends in expectations can be explained by looking at couples' experiences as described in Chapters 5 to 7. Most Group 1 parents are enrolled in vocational courses or embarking on new careers in Edinburgh, and these opportunities provide a reason to stay. Group 2 families are not considering return or onward migration and have several reasons for this: their children are involved in schooling in Edinburgh and they see re-entry to the Polish school system as highly problematic, most have worked for several years in deskilled in work in Edinburgh, making re-entry to the job market in Poland increasingly problematic, and most parents among these families simply do not want to disrupt family life again, at least until their children are through the education system. Group 3 families on the other hand, with the highest levels of 'motility', with good English skills and transferable professional jobs, are those who can and do consider either moving on to a third country or returning to Poland.

The one family who did not clearly fit into one group according to the group categorisation applied in table 8.1 are Dagmara, Bruno and their two year old daughter, who were identified in Chapter 4 as atypical; they are graduates who arrived before having children, but their English is not as strong as most Group 1 families, attributed to the fact that they have always worked in Edinburgh with other

Polish migrants. As described in Chapter 7 (see case study 2) they hope to return to Poland shortly and set up a transnational business.

Families in the less frequented rows:

The two Group 2 families in the third row of table 8.1 are unusual among their group in that they do not expect to stay. These two families, however, are younger than is typical of Group 2 families, with children under the age of 7, aligning them better in this respect with Group 1 families. In both of these families the father migrated first to the UK to work in construction, using employment skills from Poland. However, the families' likelihood of return and reasons for expecting not to stay differ. Kinga and Grzesiek are not planning to return soon; they describe many conflicting considerations in the return decision; both parents want to return to Poland, but they have found work opportunities and flexibility in Edinburgh very much greater than in their rural area in the North of Poland. Kinga says:

> **Kinga:** Especially now we know [what] life can look like when you live in a city and everything is close: the schools, shops, doctors everything like that, and you can work with that. I can work and do everything, even if you don't have a granny or an aunty to help you [..] And you can feel a little bit independent; it works - just your family - you don't need anybody's help, so it's a nice feeling.

Kinga's part-time cleaning work allows her to look after her children outside school hours and Gresziek supplements his earnings by advertising small-removals and handyman services on the web. In their area in Poland the web is not yet widely used, and slow public transport and limited job availability do not allow this level of flexibility. Thus, while they are considering return, the kinds of factors discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to Group 1 families, which generate better opportunities in the UK than in Poland, are directly relevant to their hesitance to do so, suggesting that having younger children than most Group 2 families, this family might be better aligned with Group 1.

Klaudia and Sebastian, the other family in this row, are the only couple in the group who clearly maintained their original save and return ('hamster') strategy, having migrated intending to return when their oldest son reached school age. They returned to Poland during the study year (I have assumed this, as Klaudia described this return plan at first interview and was not contactable a year later). Critically to their ability to return the family have a family house in Poland, and Sebastian has a job to return to; they have saved money which she hopes will allow her to stay out of paid work and enrol in university in Poland, something she could not do for several years in the UK as she lacks fluent English.

From these two Group 2 families whose expectation to have left runs counter to the common trend, some other contributory factors are evident. Both families have young children and have close ties with parents in Poland. Klaudia and Sebastian always planned to return when their oldest child was due to start school and they have housing and employment arranged in Poland.

Turning to look at Group 1 families, the first row of table 8.1 consists of the only two families in Group 1 who expect not to be in Edinburgh in five years. One couple, Edyta and Filip (see case study 3, Chapter 6) left Edinburgh during the study year and moved to London. The reason they are able to do this is that, ahead of most Group 1 parents who are enrolled in vocational courses, Edyta graduated from her nursing degree during the study year, and then sought a nursing post, finding that the best available jobs were in London. Filip is atypical among Group 1 parents in having a qualification from Poland that he can utilise to supplement their income in the UK; although he is prioritising building a career in nursing or physiotherapy, he is also qualified and works as a PE teacher; this gives them more freedom to be mobile, or more 'motility', and aligns them better with Group 3 than Group 1 parents.

The second family in this row are Ola and Mariusz (case study 2, chapter 6). They are unusual in Group 1 in that they migrated after their daughter was born; they hope and plan to return before she starts secondary school, and this perhaps relates to the

fact that they 'built' their family in Poland and migrated only planning a temporary stay. Although I categorise Ola as 'deskilled', engaging in care work, she is enrolled in Edinburgh in an undergraduate Law course, to complement her Law degree from Poland, and so could perhaps be categorised as continuing in her original field. She then perhaps also resembles Group 3 parents rather more than Group 1.

How lifestyle in Scotland impacts on return expectations

It might be anticipated that those couples who have deskilled or who are in poorer housing or housing districts might be more likely to return to Poland. QCA analysis was employed to explore this possibility, looking in turn at relationships between housing and deskilling indicators and couples' expectation of staying. But, as would be anticipated from the findings in Chapter 4, where it was shown that higher qualifications and fluent English (characteristics used in defining the groups) are associated with access to better housing and a lower likelihood of deskilling, together with the link indicated above between higher qualifications and language skill and expectation of leaving, deskilling and poorer housing are linked to a higher expectation of being here in five years. General trends for housing show that those who do not expect to stay have fluent English and live in better housing, with more than half of those in 'better' housing locations not expecting to stay. Among the respondent group poorer housing is then not related to an expectation of leaving in the next five years (see Appendix C for details of the QCA analysis).

A similar analysis of deskilling highlights that among the respondent group most of those who have deskilled expect to stay more than five years (19 out of 21 families). Families who expect to stay are generally those in which the main earner has deskilled, who either lack advanced English (Group 2 families) or who are graduates who have advanced English and migrated to the UK before having children (Group 1). As described previously, Group 1 parents who have deskilled, are usually not in manual work, but instead have embarked on second careers: three of the main earners in Group 1 families work in social care or nursing, one in administration, and

one has started a construction business. Having embarked on a new career in the UK is associated, as one might expect, with the expectation of staying longer.

The QCA analysis shows that parents who expect to have left in five years are those in which the main earner has not deskilled, in which either parents lack advanced English and a degree (i.e. those in 'transferable' skilled manual work) or are graduates with advanced English (Group 3 families). Among this second group, the main earners are in 'transferable' professions including construction, architecture and IT. Some of these families who expect to leave migrated with children and others before having children.

Thus, while we might have expected poor housing and deskilling to lead migrants to leave, among this (relatively small) group of families, the reverse turns out to be the case. Those who are able to access secure employment in their employment sector in Poland or in other countries, through 'transferable skills' or networks, (who usually also have strong English skills) have more options over their future plans and consider moving on despite living in better housing in Edinburgh and having not deskilled.

Two groups who have deskilled do not consider leaving: Group 1 parents who are engaged in vocational training and taking up opportunities for themselves in Edinburgh do not yet consider return or moving on, even if they are not currently able to afford to live in 'better' housing. Group 2 parents who migrated with children and who lack English skills, despite living in lower quality housing or in poorer areas, and having usually deskilled in employment, do not consider leaving in the short term.

Discourses in relation to return

These general trends provide a background about possibilities and likelihoods for different types of families, but they do not fully explain attitudes and motives for return at the individual level which lead some families to buck the more general

trends in their plans or make sense of how individual family's decisions are made in particular contexts and at particular times. In order to explore individual strategies I now look in more detail at respondents' accounts from interviews, analysing a number of discourses evident across interviews which highlight some key factors important to families' plans.

Respondents' attitudes to return

In several of the older families, parents stated that they never wanted to go back and two fathers even described having nightmares that they were back in Poland. Two single mothers with teenage children, Irena (see case study, Chapter 5) and Amelia, felt strongly that life is better here and there was no future for them in Poland. For some other parents, family members from their whole extended family had migrated to Edinburgh or emigrated from Poland, so they saw no reason to return. A lingering attachment to Poland and desire to return, even among those who were very sure about staying was often evident however, with some saying, for example, that they'd return if they won the lottery.

Attitudes of families in my study group seem to differ from those in White's study in the South West of England, among whom few had originally migrated intending to stay for the long term (White, 2011b); parents in ten (who were all Group 2) families in my study said that permanent settlement had been in their minds when they first migrated. Several explained how important it was to them now that they did not disrupt their families' lives again.

> **Lucy:** W*hen you first came, how long did you think you would stay? What were your plans?*
> **Mariola:** For ever. Yes. Because for me, when I came to Edinburgh, you know I left Poland and my first travel outside my country was to Edinburgh, to Scotland, and I knew I must try be [to make] everything good, because I don't want to leave this country any more again, everything the same. No, only here.

Some fathers were vehement in claiming that they didn't need to visit Poland. While this feeling for some was combined with a desire for eventual return, visiting for holidays held no relevance for them, and some implied that visits were a negative experience, generating unhappiness and frustration through reminding them of something they couldn't have.

Several families however, in line with those in White's study, maintained the idea of returning one day, after their children finish school or when they retire, and so too far off for them to form concrete plans. A few younger parents described romantic dreams about return. These involved, for example, the possibility of buying some land and building a house, or buying a traditional rural house and renovating it to be their perfect family home:

> The plan is, buying a house, not like building a house, just buying like a wooden house, there are lots of wooden ruined houses in a bad state, buying a house and renovate it, with a plot that we can grow something. (Ola)

For most couples however this dream was seen as unachievable or had been superseded, since return before children left school was now seen as unlikely. Some parents had been given land or had inherited houses or flats and formed plans around these. Diana has a dream of returning in the distant future and building a holiday centre for disabled children. In discussing it she also introduces the idea of a transnational living strategy, with summers in Poland and the rest of the year in the UK:

> **Diana:** I don't see myself going back to Poland, but we've got things to go back to, because we've got like land in Poland, that we inherited from my dad, and it's a big potential, like you could build something. I was thinking about [..] a farm, with a small hotel for disabled kids where they could go for holidays and stuff, with all these physiotherapists and .. you know, horses and pools and everything for disabled kids and families to go to have a proper holiday, [..] But to do that you have to have a fortune. But that would be the only option [in which] I could go back to Poland [..]

> Again, I don't think permanently, but just for example for summers and stuff, once I had someone to manage that for me, once everything is set up.

Missing home is strongly felt in some parents' accounts and Kinga describes how this feeling doesn't just fade away over time:

> Most of our friends, they are thinking, if something happens, or if we can find a better job, or to save some money to open a business, we'll go back to Poland. It's good to be here, but your heart and your head is in Poland. After a few years I thought it would be easier, but I think now it's a different way. After a few years I think you miss your country much more than before. (Kinga)

Kinga implies here that all of her friends really want to return, although this feeling was not echoed among my respondent group more generally. Kinga and Grzesiek in the QCA analysis above (Row 1 of table 8.1, and row 2 of table 8.3) are identified as unusual, given their family characteristics, in not expecting to be here in five years, and perhaps this is linked to their home sickness. Another family who appeared in a less frequented row in relation to expectations to stay, (row 1 in table 8.1) are Ola and Mariusz. Ola speaks fluent English and they are graduates. While Ola describes her aim in studying and working long hours as working towards a career in legal interpreting in Edinburgh, she also asserts her, apparently incompatible, plan to return to Poland before their daughter reaches secondary school age. She describes their visits to Poland and her daughter's relationship with family members in their rural area with enthusiasm:

> She [..] spends perfect time with her grannies and all, the best time ever.
> ..
> It's always a nice meeting, because it's like a few generations in the same place, my granny, my mum, my daughter, all in the same place, it's like four generations.. (Ola)

Another element evident in family members' desire for return is the maintenance of a strong sense of Polish identity. This was most evident among some of the older

children who participated in interviews. When I asked Emilia and Bartek how they felt about their children growing up Scottish, for example, their teenage son intervened to exclaim, 'Jestem Polakiem!' - I'm Polish! (Szymon). While a strong feeling of Polishness did not always appear to be associated with a desire to return, among some parents and children they appeared to be connected. Two teenagers in different families returned to Poland for their summer holidays, while the rest of the family went on seaside or sight-seeing holidays elsewhere in Europe, and these teenagers expressed a strong desire to return for good one day. Maintained relationships with friends in Poland appeared to be as relevant in explaining this preference as identity.

Feeling at home in Scotland

At second interviews I asked respondents, 'Do you feel at home here?' This question does not have a precise meaning, but its potential for individual interpretation made respondents' answers illuminating, as respondents answers seemed to reflect what being 'at home' meant particularly to them. In analysing replies, I coded the different experiences and aspects of life they highlighted, and these often could be seen to relate to individual respondents' and personal priorities and lives. For example, Teresa, who had emphasised the importance to her family of Christianity and membership of the local Pentecostal church, referred in her answer to the minister there describing Scotland as adopting Polish migrants as its children.

That a sense of feeling at home might relate to return intentions is also suggested by White (2011b), who finds, in common with other researchers (Gmelch, 1980; Pollard *et al.*, 2008; Schneider and Holman, 2011), that return migration (with the exception of that in response to the economic downturn in 2009) generally relates more to emotional factors than to purely economic concerns. She suggests that:

> How parents make decisions about stay and return should be understood in the context of their overall integration into British society and their sense of being at home, or not being at home (White, 2011b p227)

An alternative approach for identifying where is perceived as 'home' by respondents was suggested by Emilia, who commented that she and her partner now refer to their Polish home as 'tam' (there), and their flat in Edinburgh as 'u nas' ('at ours'). Utilising this idea, I carried out a text search on the interview transcripts of English interviews to highlight use of the word 'home' by respondents. Disappointingly, I found that the most frequent use of 'home' to refer to Poland, was in my question wording, in which I sometimes referred to going 'home' on holiday or permanently. None of the respondents however echoed this usage back in their answers, although four couples did refer to Poland as 'home' in other contexts. None of the respondents who said that they plan to stay in the UK permanently used the word 'home' for Poland however, providing further support for the suggestions that 'feeling at home' relates to intention to stay. The factors which respondents highlighted in their answers to the question 'Do you feel at home here?' are next presented in turn.

The physical home

A commonly recurring theme was that 'home' was constituted by one's own physical family house or flat, and several respondents in social housing associated their feeling of being at home in Edinburgh with the fact that their flat was bigger and better than the housing they previously had, or could have expected to have had they stayed in Poland. Some respondents felt that what made their house or flat in Edinburgh 'home' was the independence it gave their family. Migration had allowed the family to access housing, to decorate and furnish it themselves without extended family support and no other family members shared the family home (see also Schneider and Holman, 2011). In response to the question, Iwona says:

> I think it's because we worked for everything we have here, no one gave us it. (Iwona)

Zosia, whose family at first shared a flat in Edinburgh with her sister, highlights the relevance of independence to feeling at home:

> **Lucy:** *Would you say that you feel at home here?*

> **Zosia:** Yeah, yeah. When we lived with my sister and her boyfriend, it was good, but when we lived without them, after they moved out, this is .. We feel like home.

Important both to those in social housing, and to those who own their home in Edinburgh, as previously highlighted, is the secure nature of housing tenure. For those in privately rented flats, six monthly renewal of tenancy contracts is described as undermining their ability to feel at home, with two families expressing worries that landlords might terminate the tenancy in the near future. Similarly, problems with families' housing, such as damp, poor heating, and insufficient bedrooms for sons and daughters to each have their own, undermined a sense of 'feeling at home', implying that to feel 'at home', housing must at least meet some basic standards or ideals.

> I would feel much better if we would have our own flat and that's something that's somewhere in the air for us at the moment. We just feel that we have kids and we would like to give them stability and have a house of our own. And it's pretty exhausting when you need to be afraid and to be aware that at some point the landlord might tell you that you have to move out. (Daria)

Renata, in answering the question, distinguished her feelings towards their (housing association) flat from those towards the city:

> While this flat is home, Edinburgh is still too strange. (Renata)

Belonging and relationships:

A second recurring theme in answers to the question about feeling at home concerns relationships with locals, and the ability to form friendships, and this related to attitudes of local people towards Polish migrants more generally. Two mothers utilised a metaphor of Scotland as family adopting Polish migrants: as described above, Teresa was moved by her minister saying that Scotland adopted Polish migrants as its children, and Dominika says:

> I feel that Scotland is my mother, Poland my grandmother (Dominika)

Mariola and Robert (see case study 2, Chapter 5), who felt they had been discriminated against at work, were aware of local attitudes that Poles were taking jobs from local people and stressed this as an obstacle to being able to feel at home.

The importance of personal relationships led some respondents to focus on language in answering this question. Being unable to communicate freely undermines their ability to socialise. Weronika, for example, who speaks English in the interview, nevertheless, answers:

> maybe not *at home*, because it's still - it's a problem with English. I'm still not confident with speaking English, so maybe this is one big problem for me (Weronika)

Similarly, Danuta and Patryk who have both deskilled because of lack of English point to language:

> **Lucy:** *Do you feel at home here?*
> **Danuta:** Not entirely. The language barrier is very significant, so not really. But it's not bad - I have learnt to live here.
> **Patryk:** Let's say, if we spoke English at least as well as [our 12 year old daughter], it would have been a lot easier. It would certainly be much easier to make new friends in our neighborhood. (translated)

In contrast, Julia, who is becoming fluent in English, cites this as a reason to feel happy with being here:

> **Lucy:** *And you, you are at home?*
> **Julia:** Yes I'm at home. I feel like my English is going better every year, so I'm happy [with] that and I'm happy for my children. They learn English, they do specialist dance, they play violin, they do a lot of things..

Julia here includes in her answer her children's involvement in Edinburgh life, in

relationships and activities. Several other parents similarly highlighted the importance of feeling that their children were happy, active and making friends, highlighting that children's successful settlement enables parents to feel at home.

But having family members who have also settled locally is perhaps the way in which local social relationships have the greatest impact on the sense of feeling at home. Oliwia's parents and her sister are her neighbours, and she refers to them, as well as to her confidence in English in her answer to the question, linking these factors with a sense of security of being able to cope in an emergency:

> Maybe it is different because I'm surrounded by my family.. and I know that if something will happen, I know where to knock, because my mum is next door, because my sister she is next door, 'cause I know how to communicate with neighbours. Because if something will happen to me, I know how to say to my neighbours, 'Can you help me? Can you call an ambulance?' (Oliwia)

Making everyday life here

Several respondents in their answers to this question emphasised the importance to feeling at home of everyday life, of having children and a house in a location and simply becoming accustomed to life there. Some argued that 'feeling at home' could only stem from long-acquired habit, and so was only achievable after being somewhere for a long time.

> **Lucy:** *Do you feel at home here?*
> **Mariola:** No. I've spent too short a time in Scotland. If you want to feel at home somewhere, you have to spend a very long time there.

Others stated that 'home' was simply the place where you live, or the place where your children are:

> **Lucy:** *Do you feel at home here?*

> **Izabela:** Yes – oh yes! When you're got your children here, you've got your pets here..
> My home is here, my family is here, my children are here. That's OK. It's my children and me - that's all. (Dominika)

While habit-forming seems like a banal reason for staying, increasing length of time in a host country means that living there begins to seem like 'normal life', eroding some of the desire to return to one's home country.

The effects of visiting Poland

One way respondents addressed the question of feeling at home was by describing how they felt on returning from holiday. A powerful feeling of 'coming home' provides an affirmation of one's feelings, and several parents who have decided to stay permanently emphasised how positively they feel towards Edinburgh on these occasions:

> Each time I'm flying back from Poland, I know I'm coming home. When I'm in Edinburgh airport, ten miles to my home, I'm so happy. And I open my door, 'I'm home!' - and that's the way I want to feel. (Monica J.)

> I love this city! I don't like leaving it. I feel ill when I have to go away - I just love it so much! [..] When we arrive back to the airport from Poland I feel, 'I'm home! Home, at last!' I lived in Poland for 39 years, but I never felt as good as I do here after only four years. I feel like I've lived here my whole life. I have found my place in the world! (Amelia)

Julia seems to use how she feels on arriving back from Poland as a litmus test of her true feelings, and says that it took four years before she felt at home on returning:

> My, like, *need* to go back to Poland is less now. I feel, after coming back here after the summer holidays, I felt like I'm home, for the first time [in] the fourth year. And my oldest daughter came [home] from school, two days ago, maybe yesterday, and she said, 'Mum, I don't want to come back to Poland any more'. So there you go.

Lucy: *And was that the first time for her?*

Yeah, she wanted to come back. I mean, she understood that this is important to stay here, to learn English, to experience something different from Polish reality, but she wanted to come back to her friends, and now she made good friends here, she felt at home. (Julia)

Several parents describe such key moments when they knew that their children felt at home in Edinburgh. This feeling appears to be important in providing evidence that migration has been a success for the children and so to some extent justifies the whole migration project.

As well as highlighting feelings on returning from trips abroad, respondents referred to how they felt when they were in Poland for holidays. Holidays in the home country are identified by White (2011b Chapter 10), and Gmelch (1980) as playing an important role in influencing migrants' feelings about staying or returning, and even chance events or factors such as the weather while they were there, or a car accident, could leave an impression which then seemed to become associated with Poland in future attitudes. White outlines two ways in which return visits may operate:

a) Holidays (probably often subconsciously) function as inspection visits.
b) The quality of the holiday is important: if it is stressful and shows up negative aspects of life in Poland, the migrant is less likely to want to return to Poland for good. (White, 2011b p201)

The idea of visits functioning as 'inspection visits' was also evident in my study, with some respondents describing how, despite very much wanting to visit Poland, after only being back a short while, they found it difficult living with parents and family members or simply wanted to get back to 'normal'. Paweł in this context refers to Poland as 'home':

I miss certain things at home and when I go back home, I love it for two weeks and then after two weeks I'm just going mental, I want to leave, I just want to go

somewhere else. (Paweł)

Similarly Zuzanna and Krzysztof say:

> **Krzysztof:** We feel normal here. We consider this to be our home. When coming back from holidays, it feels like coming home.
> **Zuzanna:** Even when I took the children back to Poland two years ago to their granny's. I stayed with them there for two or three days and I was happy to be going back here, because this is my place.

Several respondents linked their accounts of visits with comparisons between the two societies. The UK or Scotland (as already discussed in Chapter 5) were often contrasted with Poland as a place where people are more polite and helpful in public and this impacts on feeling at home:

> I do. I actually do feel at home. I mean, when I went for a month to Poland, I couldn't find a place for myself, it's just when I walk around the streets, when I go to a store, it's just [the] mentality is hitting me so badly that I'm finding it very difficult, and I find it much more comfortable over here to, too, the life is much easier, and you don't need to be all uptight here as you need to be in Poland. You know like silly simple things, like over here when you go to a store and your child gets like crazy and cries and no one cares; you go in Poland everybody is staring at you and telling you you're a bad mother, you know. (Daria)

> When we go there on holiday we just get annoyed with sorting out things in offices and documents and things and we can't really imagine going back there. We're really used to having nice people here - in offices and shops for example
> (Agnieszka, translated)

Oliwia describes a trip to Poland with her two young children during which one of them became ill and was admitted to hospital. She blamed herself for taking them away from 'home' when they were so young, and drew comparisons about her confidence at accessing the health service in Scotland, and the difficulties she encountered in Poland. Other respondents talk about how their visits had coincided

with the Icelandic volcanic ash delaying flights home, making them all the more keen to return, and one family had been involved in a car accident in Poland, again providing negative associations with the visit.

Kinga describes her husband's trip home as important in his decision to stay in Edinburgh. Before going back his desire to return for good had been increasing, but he hadn't visited Poland for several years. When he did visit, problems during his visit made him see the positive side of living in Edinburgh:

> He [hadn't spent] a lot of time in Poland and he started to feel that everything in Poland is great, so if it is great, why did you move to Edinburgh? So, I think he forgot what was wrong. When he went last time to Poland and he stayed about two weeks and he had a lot of problems with his mother and you know.. And he came back and he said, 'No, we're staying in Edinburgh' and [once] he decided to stay longer in Edinburgh, I can see that he felt better because he [had] always felt like, 'I miss Poland' (Kinga)

In contrast, the children in several younger families stayed with grandparents for several weeks every summer. These holidays were often portrayed as idyllic interludes, which could lead children to compare Edinburgh unfavourably with Poland. Poland became associated with their grandparents, with treats and whole days playing with old friends. Parents commented that they sometimes had to remind themselves and their children that if they still lived in Poland there would be school and work and the weather would not always be warm - life would not be a permanent summer holiday.

In making comparisons between countries, the physical environment and weather were also highlighted. Several respondents felt very negatively about Scottish weather, stressing that this was not a trivial factor, but important to their future plans:

> In Edinburgh you know the weather is quite raining.. and the houses are all old houses, there is no colour, you can feel sad, like that. (Kinga)

Several respondents expressed feelings towards visual aspects of the city. Most comments related to Edinburgh's attractiveness and the proximity of beautiful mountains and seaside (natural features that are, as Łukasz pointed out, separated by substantial distances in Poland). Ryszard linked the visual with the social make-up of the city:

> **Ryszard:** We so enjoy summer and the festival, and I'm really happy when I drive the van during the day around Marchmont and the Meadow park and I see the students playing, it makes me like, 'Oh, I like these people!'
> **Diana:** It feels like our place to live basically.

Summary

From examining the answers to the question 'Do you feel at home?', which we might expect to relate to factors in the decision to stay or return, elements highlighted included then: the family's physical house or flat in Edinburgh, independence and autonomy enabled by migration, social networks and ease of relationships, the presence of family locally, differences in societal norms and physical differences between localities, the importance of habituation to a locality over time and the relevance of feelings on returning from holidays and on visits to Poland. In response to the question finally, a few parents also highlighted a sense that after migration, the possibility of ever feeling really 'at home' is undermined. The next section turns to look at the dimension of time: at events and changes, and their importance in decision-making.

Questionnaire responses about return

In analysing questionnaire responses, I start by looking for indications of change in attitudes over the study year. As described in Chapter 3, responses from the first round of questionnaires resulted in a greater level of agreement with the statement 'I want to go back to Poland one day to stay' than appeared consistent with accounts of

future plans from interviews. On further investigation, this discrepancy could be seen to stem from and highlight the important distinction between practical plans for the foreseeable future and ideals and preferences for the longer term. In order to explore this further, the statement (used in the QCA analysis above): 'I expect to still be living in the UK in 5 years time' was included in the second interview questionnaire along with the original statement. This statement, lacking any 'preference' element, identifies short and medium term practical expectations of return, distinguishing them from less definite desires or ideals for the long term future - as described by the 'myth of return' (Anwar, 1979), and the migration strategy of 'salmon', who plan return to their homes on or after retirement (Garapich, quoted in White, 2011c).

Collating the answers to these two questions across the group, some general trends can be observed in relation to return expectations and preferences. Table 8.2 shows responses in relation the first statement at the two interviews, for all individuals who completed both questionnaires.

Table 8.2 Individual parents' level of agreement with the statement 'I want to go back to Poland one day to stay'

		First Interview				
		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	n/a[7]	Total
Second Interview	Agree	6	1	0	0	7
	Neither agree nor disagree	3	3	0	2	8
	Disagree	2	1	5	6	14
	n/a	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	11	5	5	8	29

(N=29: all individuals who completed both questionnaires)

The table indicates a general trend over the year within the group away from the desire to return to Poland eventually: while all five of the respondents who stated at the first interview that they did not want to go back to stay repeated this at the

[7] The 'not applicable' category was problematic. At first interviews it appeared that respondents who selected 'n/a' did so because they weren't considering return and it was deemed irrelevant. I am not sure why 2nd interview responses differed. No one who answered 'n/a' at 1st interview however, stated agreement with the statement at 2nd interview, providing tentative support for this interpretation of 'n/a' answers at 1st interview.

second, of the eleven respondents who indicated at the first interview that they wanted to go back to stay one day, only six repeated this at the second, while three neither agreed nor disagreed and two indicated that they now disagreed with the statement.

Accounts given in interviews, which focused mainly on practical plans and the foreseeable future rather than ideals for the long term, again suggested increasing enthusiasm in general towards staying. Only two respondent families appeared to have become less keen to stay during the year, but neither had plans to return in the short term. Seven families at second interview seemed more decided on staying for the short to medium term, having apparently abandoned potential plans for return described at the first interview, while seventeen families who indicated at the first interview that they planned to stay for the foreseeable future had not changed their plans.

Looking at those who changed their attitudes to eventual return, some of these changes can potentially be linked to events in their lives during the year. A new baby was born during the study year in three of the five families in which parents expressed a reduced desire to return one day at the second interview; the fourth couple were expecting a baby at the time of the second interview and the fifth, who already had two children, had bought a puppy during the year. These family-building events seem likely to relate to couples' changed attitudes, perhaps causing return to seem less relevant or appealing.

Teresa describes how family-building changes attitudes to return:

> I don't know if in two years I will feel that's time for us to go back, I don't know, I can't imagine this, I really can't, because we've changed so much. I mean, when we came here we were only a couple and now we are rather a big family, so I can't really imagine this.. (Teresa)

A respondent whose change in attitude towards staying seemed to reflect a more gradual change over the year was Julia, who had abandoned the plan she described at

the first interview to return while her children were still at school. This appeared to be associated less with particular events than to gradually increased involvement in social networks, work and education. As described above, she and her children now feel at home here; they are involved in activities in and outside school, she has begun an OU degree course and at last feels that her English is sufficient to make close friends.

The only respondent who indicated an increased wish for eventual return over the year from the questionnaires was Mariola (case study 2, Chapter 5). Her response however may have been influenced by events immediately prior to the second interview. That same day her husband had been informed that his contract with a construction firm was terminated, and he could only continue working on a week-by-week basis. Both partners felt that they had been penalised at work because of being Polish - or not being Scottish. However, primarily because of their children's involvement in school in Edinburgh they were not planning to leave in the foreseeable future.

Thus, particular events seemed to have influenced parents' immediate intentions sometimes causing apparent changes of heart and sometimes acting to cement the feeling of being at home in the UK. Having a baby, enrolling in education and bad experiences of visits to family in Poland were implicated in changes of attitude, while experiences of discrimination at work, parents who were ill in Poland and, in one case a teenage child returning to Poland, all acted to unsettle future plans in Edinburgh. Time, improved English language, involvement with social networks and children's engagement in schooling in Edinburgh have the gradual effect of making return seem less urgent or relevant or to make the disruption to life that would be caused by returning be perceived more negatively.

Several families, and particularly those who indicated uncertainty about their plans for the future, described conflicting influences on their decisions, and some described a long drawn out process of vacillating between returning and staying. Even within one interview these respondents would give the impression at one minute that they

were considering return and at the next present their rationale for staying for the long term. For several Group 1 parents missing family pulled them to Poland, while practicalities of life made this seem impossible:

> We've been thinking about going back to Poland, but this is only because we miss our family, and that's for us a very important issue like to have family around, and like, my parents are both very sick and we wanted to be closer to them and just to give them at least their grandchildren just to be there, but we're afraid that the reality is just going to be so difficult for us, because over here, you see, we can manage for me to be at home and Adrian to work, but over there we would have to, both of us, go to work straight away. (Daria)

Couples often differed in their feelings about return, and it is only when they both coincide in agreeing that it is likely to occur (Coulter *et al.*, 2012). Kinga and Grseziek described how they alternated over wanting to return:

> **Kinga:** At the moment I'm happy to be here, to do the thing. I have the house
> **Grzesiek:** Yes, you're happy. When we started to live together - I came two years before - she told me, 'You paint here, you make everything [good] outside, inside!' And I waited six months, because I thought maybe you [would] tell me, 'Back to Poland!' One year later, because the crisis came I thought about [about] maybe [going] back, and: 'No, no, no, I don't want to. I'm staying here!'
> **Kinga:** But he went back to Poland for a few weeks, and [then] he said, 'No, no, no - it's no time to go back'.

Mothers more often focused on needs and wishes of their parents in Poland, and for couples who had one set of parents in Poland and one in Edinburgh, this provided clear differences in attitudes between partners. Individual parents also reacted differently to the environment, and the weather and dark winters in Scotland – something more often emphasised by mothers as an important drawback of living in Edinburgh.

Distinguishing long and short-term plans

Table 8.3 shows responses to both questions in the second round questionnaire, and demonstrates how long-term desire for return does not always coincide with the expectation of leaving in the short term. The table shows, supporting interview accounts, that most parents do not want to return to Poland for good and also expect to be 'here' in five years' time (nineteen respondents), with a further six respondents not expressing feelings either way about eventual return but also expecting to be here in five years. As identified in the QCA analysis above, these parents belong to Group 1 and 2 families, with seven Group 1 parents and eighteen Group 2 parents answering in this way.

Table 8.3 Individual parents' responses in relation to staying, questionnaire 2

	I want to go back to Poland one day to stay				
I expect to still be living in the UK in 5 years time		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Total
	Agree	3	6	19	28
	Neither agree nor disagree	5	1	2	8
	Disagree	2	3	0	5
	Total	10	10	21	41*

* 41 individual respondents completed 2nd questionnaire (one couple who completed it jointly are here counted separately, having both also made their individual attitudes clear in the interview)

Three of the parents who state a wish to go back to Poland eventually, expect still to be here in five years: Mariola and Robert are Group 3 parents (case study 2, Chapter 5) who, as previously discussed, experienced discrimination at work; Robert's employment contract had been terminated on the day of the interview; Jakub, a Group 1 father, describes in the interview a dream to return and renovate a traditional house; his partner however states an expectation to be here in five years and does not wish to return eventually.

Two parents want to return eventually and expect to have left in five years; these parents were presented in Chapter 7, both hoping to return to Poland and utilise networks and skills developed through migration, utilising their 'motility'(Kaufman *et al.*, 2004) in setting up 'transnational' businesses, Dagmara, importing clothes from the UK to Poland, and Andrzej in web design. They are both young families, with graduate parents who speak intermediate/advanced English and migrated before having children. Five further parents are unsure about where they will be in five years but say they want to return to Poland eventually. Three of these parents are in professional Group 3 families planning return in the medium term. The other two were both identified as unusual for their groups in the QCA analysis above: Ola, is a Group 1 mother, unusual in having migrated with her young daughter and hoping to become a legal translator and return in a few years, and Kinga, is a relatively young Group 2 parent, who, as described above, is vacillating about return with a desire to be in Poland undermined by the greater ease of work and care arrangements in Edinburgh.

Factors in the Return Decision

Across the whole group, many factors in the return decision were identified from interviews. These are presented in table 8.4, divided into 'push' and 'pull' factors in the return decision and colour-coded to indicate factors that are associated with particular types of families. Some factors, while relevant to all groups, are of particular relevance to one; for example, children's school entry date is relevant for all those with pre-school aged children (primarily Group 1 families); transferability of employment is of greatest relevance to those in professional work who also have fluent English, but also relevant to those in some transferable skilled trades. Factors common across all groups include the pull of close relationships with family or friends in Poland, and a strong sense of Polish identity. I look now at the key factors relevant to each of the three groups.

Table 8.4 Push and pull factors, from interview data

	To return or move on	To stay
Push Factors	**Racism and discrimination in employment here** **Can't or don't want to learn English** **Long working hours mean lack of free time or opportunity for socialising** **Economic crisis affects employment**	**Parents unable to find local work in Poland** **Deskilled here too long to return to work in Poland** **Reaction and expectations of other people in Poland on return** **Reduced ability to get job because of having migrated** **Children wouldn't be able to re-enter school** **Would be stuck in career job and couldn't move or work part-time** **Want to experience something different from Poland** Religious/Political situation and attitudes there People are rude and unhelpful in public and bureaucratic situations. Running own business is expensive and unpredictable Rents are high Good housing with space is hard to access and/or afford. Both partners would need to work full-time to make ends meet
Pull Factors	**Have 'transferable' or potentially transnational career** **Child approaching school start age** Sick or elderly parents Feel at home in Poland Own housing/land Children have maintained friendships Good schools are more accessible Schooling seen as of higher quality Prefer children to be brought up with Polish identity and norms Children want to return (or have returned already)	**Children enrolled in education and schooling** **Income greater relative to expenses, so can afford normal lifestyle: holidays, presents for children, making life is less stressful** **Opportunities for work and training** **Parents enrolled in education and want to finish** **Employment is not transferable between countries** Have a family home in Edinburgh, no need to share with grandparents Children are happy and settled and benefitting from opportunities People are helpful and cheerful in public and bureaucratic situations

Purple: Group 2 older families, parents lack fluent English and have deskilled
Green: Group 1 families: parents are young, graduates and migrated before having children
Blue: Group 3 families, with fluent English who found professional work in Edinburgh

Group 2 families: Children's schooling and deskilling

Group 2 families with older children and parents who have deskilled were identified in Chapter 5 as in general contented with the outcomes of migration, despite living in less prosperous areas, with parents working in manual work and not yet able to integrate to a significant extent. Two factors however stand out in the rationales given by these parents in relation to return, appearing to outweigh any individual dissatisfaction with life here in ensuring they will stay at least long enough to see their children through school.

First, the older (usually secondary school) children in these families are involved in the Scottish education system and as a result have fallen behind with, or never acquired, Polish reading and writing skills; parents see the Scottish curriculum as lagging behind that in Poland in core subjects. The education system in Poland is a more traditional, exam-oriented system than in Scotland, with whole-class teaching and testing, less focus on group and project work, problem-solving and transferable skills, but higher levels of academic achievement expected at a lower age and a relatively harsh annual testing regime, whereby those who fail must retake a year. As a result re-entry is viewed as highly problematic, leading most Group 2 families to rule out return as an option (see also Heath *et al.*, 2012; White, 2011b p212). Robert, for example, states that he would like to return, but he and Mariola feel that their sixteen year old son, Radek, and thirteen year old daughter, Klara, could not re-enter schooling in Poland, so they will probably stay:

> **Robert:** I will go back to Poland faster than I learn English.
> **Lucy:** *So you want to go back?*
> **Robert:** Yes.
> **Lucy:** *A big decision if you go back. Do you think you might?*
> **Mariola:** I don't think so. Radek would have a very big problem in school in Poland at the moment. He should be back - I think so - to primary school, because in Poland there are many subjects. And Klara..
> **Radek:** She can't even read and write in Polish
> **Mariola:** Because she came here..

Radek: She was seven. She hadn't even started primary school. I was P5..

Mariola: And in Poland you start primary school at seven..

I: *So that will keep you here, to finish school..?*

Mariola: Maybe. Not too happy, but I think we will still live here

Second, having deskilled, as well as grown older in the UK, Group 2 parents see their chances of re-entering employment in Poland in their previous field as significantly reduced in comparison to those before they migrated (see also Nowicka, 2012), with several respondents pointing also to age discrimination in Poland; Łukasz suggests further that employers look unfavourably on previously emigrants:

> ..lots of people in Poland think, 'He returned from the UK, he returned from Germany, he's not a good person for us. OK he has skills, but he knows [an]other life. He not working here.(Łukasz)

Adrian, a Group 1 parent who is working in his previous field as a chef in Edinburgh feels that this problem would also apply to him:

> For me it's going to be quite difficult to find a job after so many years working over here, because in Poland there's nothing like a.. My working history from here doesn't count in Poland. So for me it's going to be difficult. And for Daria as well, because she doesn't finish her studies (Adrian)

Group 1 families: Vocational training and children starting school

Group 1 parents were seen in Chapter 6 to be embarking on new careers and vocational courses and these provide a reason to stay for the medium term. Having already developed English skills, these parents are able to integrate with local people and recognise that by the time they complete their studies they will have formed ties here and their children may have similar problems in relation to re-entering school to those of Group 2 families. Further their own studies may lead to employment here, but not be so easy to utilise in Poland. Daria says:

> We need to stay here for at least the next five years for me to finish university, and five years might change a lot, and besides for me it will be ten years of being over here, and for Adrian that's 11, and that's a long time and you're getting used to it and in five years we might be even more used to the situation over here, and we might work - both of us will work and we might be happy, but there's the problem with our parents and how to tell them that we're not going back.. (Daria)

As discussed in Chapter 7 and found by other researchers, for Polish parents the date their child starts school in Poland is a critical date in the return decision. While Group 1 parents felt that once their children started school in Edinburgh this would mean they would not want to disrupt their schooling by returning, for most (five out of the seven families in the group) their own career plans and their satisfaction with life in Edinburgh mean they plan to stay.

Group 3 families: transferability of skills and return as failure

As described in Chapter 7, for the five Group 3 families, return to Poland is something parents either are putting off for a while longer or that they hope not to do, prioritising their desire to experience something more and potentially to settle permanently in other countries. Some parents in this group, like Julia & Rafał, both want to return eventually, but Julia says that they are not yet ready, wanting more time away. Other parents regard return only as a 'fall-back option', and this is perhaps the function it has served for Anita, a mother who returned when things didn't work out for her in Edinburgh (see next section).

For some parents in this group, the economic crisis is relevant to the decision over future migration, and they frequently reassess their options. The particular sector in which parents are employed, its transferability to Poland or other countries, and how well it is currently performing in each, are relevant to their decision. Paweł and Ewa hope to find posts as architects in Switzerland, but see architect work as easier for them to access in Poland if this doesn't work out (case study 1, Chapter 7). While the two fathers employed in IT consider it likely that they could return to employment in

Poland, Andrzej frequently assesses the situation there with a view to relocating his own business there.

Families who are leaving

In the final section of this chapter I look at the five families in the group who either left during the study year or were planning their departure in the near future. These families belong to different family groups, but even within this small sample some shared family characteristics and factors influencing them and the family types to which they belong can be seen to relate to the plans they are activating. Their characteristics and the key factors influencing them are summarised in table 8.5.

Three of the 'leavers' are returning to Poland and two are migrating to a third destination. Two of the returners have stuck to, or reverted to their original plan to save and return to Poland, and make use of their savings in work or study there. The plan is viable for both families because family housing is available, they are prepared to live close to or with extended family, and employment is available. Employment for Dagmara and Bruno has required them to form networks and develop skills in order to start a transnational business, while the other father, Sebastian, had 'transferable' skills in construction before migrating, which he has utilised working in Edinburgh and has a job kept open to return to in Poland.

The third returner, Anita, is a professional mother, who returned leaving her husband in Edinburgh. The families' migration experience was highly problematic. While Anita fitted the group family profile, moving within her university teaching job to teach linguistics in a UK-based branch of her university, Oskar spoke little English on arrival and so had to deskill and started up a successful Polish Saturday school in Edinburgh. Anita's university branch closed, however, and the older of their two children, unhappy in Edinburgh, had returned to Poland to live with his grandparents before our first interview. Anita was able to return to Poland as her transferable professional skills would allow her to re-enter work there. The migration project had

Table 8.5: Families who left or planned to leave Edinburgh

Couple	Klaudia and Sebastian	Dagmara and Bruno (case study 2, Ch 7)	Edyta and Filip (case study, Ch 6)	Ewa and Paweł (case study 1, Ch 7)	Anita and Oskar
Destination and timing	Returned to Poland	Planning return to Poland	Relocated to England	Planning move to Switzerland	Mother returned to Poland, father stayed
Group	2	1	1	3	3
Individual differences from the group norm	Younger parents with pre-school children	Parents lack fluent English	Mother completed vocational degree during study year, father has secondary vocational qualification from Poland	-	She fits Group 3 profile. He lacks English, but is utilising business skills in the UK, distinguishing him from Group 2 parents
Key influential factors	Father has transferable work skills in construction Father's job kept open in Poland Oldest child approaching school age Family house available in Poland Managed to save as planned	Close relationship with parents in Poland. Happy to share housing. Child under school age. Starting up transnational business Networks and information through owning Polish shop in Edinburgh	Transferable professional skills. Experience of migration prior to coming to the UK. Fluent English Child under school age	Both parents have fluent English and transferable professional skills as architects Couple have professional and social networks across Europe. Child is under school age	Mother has transferable professional skills; Oskar deskilled, lacking fluency in English Teenage son returned to Poland as unhappy in UK Mother's job in UK terminated, so she had to deskill Oskar's business with Polish migrants successful in the UK
Original migration strategy	To save and return before child(ren) started school. Held onto this plan	To save and return. Have reverted to this plan	New experience and careers. Maintained plan	New experience and career progression. Maintained plan	New experience and career move for her, possible permanent stay. Plan failed for her, succeeded for him?

failed for Anita, although not for Oskar, and this seems likely to have contributed to their decision to go separate ways.

The two onward movers, from Group 3 and 1 respectively, are both graduate couples who have fluent English and transferable professional skills - providing them with high levels of 'motility'. Both are moving to maximise their families' interests. Both couples consider return to Poland as a possibility for the future, but one which they currently assess as offering them poorer prospects than a move to a third destination.

Shared across these families are several factors:

- *Young parents with children below school age*: Children in four of the five families are not yet in education, and families are prepared to move on because of this, establishing themselves in their preferred location before children start school.

- *Working in the co-ethnic community*: In all three of the families who returned or planned to return to Poland, parents worked with other Polish migrants in the UK. This is not typical of the respondent group as a whole or of the families migrating to other countries. In two of these families, employment contacts allowed parents to transfer to the UK, and will allow them similarly to transfer back to employment in Poland.

- *Transferable skills and Motility:* Parents are able to transfer their skills in employment to their new destination. Two families are using networks and skills formed through migration to find or create new employment in Poland and Switzerland respectively, two others have maintained networks with Poland which enable return.

- *Original Migration Plans:* Two of the families returning are sticking or reverting to their original plan to save money and return. The two families moving to third countries are maintaining their initial strategy of migrating for new experience

and to further their careers (until their children reach school age). Only Anita's return goes against her original plans.

- *Close to family in Poland:* Those returning to Poland are all returning initially to live in family-owned accommodation. Two are sharing with parents and one inheriting her grandparents' house. The two families sticking with original plans to return are very keen to live near family and this constitutes part of the motivation for return, contrasting with other families in the study who emphasised the positive side of independence from extended family.

Summary

This study has found then, at first face surprisingly, that among these thirty Polish families, it is not those who do not speak English and have deskilled to work in Edinburgh in manual employment who entertain the possibility of return in the short to medium term. This is because, among these families, these characteristics are associated with parents who are older and migrated with school-age children. These families emigrated from Poland because of financial difficulties, often considering permanent settlement at the outset. Despite problems they encounter: the necessity of deskilling in employment, experiences of discrimination, and obstacles to integration, including long workings hours and poor English language, nevertheless very few parents in this group consider returning in the short term. There are two key reasons for this: first, they assess that their children could not easily re-enter into Polish schools, and second, parents feel it would be difficult to re-enter the Polish labour market.

Most of these families did not present their situation in a negative light however. The greater friendliness of people in public places in Edinburgh, advancement in employment, access to better hours and good relationships at work - which appear to be of more immediate importance to respondents than work status - and, most importantly, greater financial security, mean that they assess life in Edinburgh to be better than that in Poland. These families, as shown in Chapter 5, vary in the

reference groups and points they adopt for assessing their lives, with those who look 'backwards', comparing life in Edinburgh very favourably with stressful and insecure lives in Poland, and those who look 'forwards' optimistic about overcoming language barriers to integration in the long term. For these older parents, 'career' is not a priority so much as achieving a stable secure lifestyle with good relationships at work, and providing a solid foundation for their children to benefit from the better opportunities in the UK than were available to them in Poland.

In contrast, parents with fluent English, who are in employment using skills that are 'transferable' between countries, appear to be both most likely to move onwards or to return. Such 'transferability' applies to professional employment where employees have fluent English (and other languages), and also to some skilled manual jobs. For these parents, contacts in, or previous migration to, particular countries in Europe and elsewhere, allow them to gain an overview for making lifestyle comparisons and enabling access to employment. Their mobility however appears likely to be a transient phenomenon, critically, for most parents, bounded by the year their oldest child starts school. Most parents do not wish to disrupt their children's schooling with further migration.

Between these two extremes are Group 1 families, in which parents arrived as single highly-educated migrants and have provided the focus of much of the research in relation to Polish post-accession migrants in the UK. These parents have pre-school age children, and so are in a position to consider moving onwards or returning to Poland before their children start school, but opportunities for enacting their preferred lifestyle in relation to employment and child-care, open to them because of their increasing English fluency provide a strong incentive to stay in the UK. These include flexible working arrangements, ease of access to vocational training and the possibility of combining child-care, work and training. Further, building families here is adding to their sense of being at home.

Chapter 9: Concluding discussion

In this chapter I return to my key research questions and answer them, drawing on the analysis presented throughout the thesis. In doing this I look at how choices made over methodology and theoretical frameworks assisted in addressing the questions, and discuss some strengths and limitations identified with the research design as the project progressed. I outline some areas relevant to social policy which were highlighted by respondents and potentially worth further research. I finish by setting my research findings within the context of those of other researchers of post-accession Polish migration.

Answering the research questions

The research questions with which I started this project focused on identifying and exploring the factors which influenced integration and return decisions among Polish migrant families and the relationship between integration and the decision to stay, to return or move on. I was particularly interested in the importance of work and child-care, the relevance of children's ages and of the presence of extended family in Poland and the UK in these processes, and in ascertaining the characteristics of families who were most likely to stay for the long term. In identifying and exploring these factors and relationships, several clear interrelated patterns have emerged, and the three adopted theoretical approaches assist in throwing light on these patterns.

Identified as underlying the outcomes for parents in terms of integration and plans for the future were certain key characteristics which distinguished the families into distinct groups. These characteristics were: parents' fluency in English, their employment in Edinburgh, the ages of their children, and the stage relative to family development at which they had migrated. These factors were found to be inter-related, with those least fluent at English being older and having more often migrated together as families with school-age children (Group 2 families), those who arrived before having children, younger and, by the time of the study having developed

fluency in English (Group 1 families), and those in professional employment, making use of qualifications attained in Poland and having arrived with the strongest English language skills (Group 3).

The three groups distinguished in this way relate to the degree of integration parents in the families had achieved at the time of the study. The older parents with poorer English were those most involved with Polish migrant networks, and usually employed in unskilled manual work. Having arrived with children, parents in these Group 2 families have not had time to acquire English and need to provide a regular income to support their families; long hours of work, and low-level work alongside other Polish migrants, for most, provide an obstacle to integration with locals. In Chapter 5, I explored how individual families' employment and social contexts led to different outcomes in relation to available options and parents' attitudes and strategies in relation to integration, but overall these families are least integrated within the study. Those who had arrived before having children and had initially worked in unskilled employment, often alongside other migrants, (Group 1 parents) had since embarked on training and new careers in Edinburgh, and were now using their acquired English skills to integrate, particularly through their work and education settings. Parents who had migrated into professional work, who had not deskilled and who had the most fluent English, (Group 3 parents), were those most able to integrate, in a position to develop good relationships in their work places, and with greater leisure time outside of work, to engage with locals through leisure activities.

Level of integration however, was found to relate to future migration intentions in an unexpected way. Those who were least integrated and working in unskilled work were found to be those most determined to settle for the long term in Edinburgh, seeing return to Poland as impossible because of the difficulty they perceive for their school-age children in re-entering the Polish school system and for themselves in re-entering employment there after working several years in unskilled work in Edinburgh. Further, for parents in these families, comparisons between their families' financially difficult and insecure lives in Poland and their more secure lives

in Edinburgh made return seem highly unappealing. Younger parents, whose pre-school children were born in the UK, were also usually intending to stay, although some were vacillating over this decision, often due to maintained close relationships with family remaining in Poland. For most of these Group 1 parents however, embarking on new careers and training courses, as described in Chapter 6, will keep them in Edinburgh for several years more, and they recognise that by the time they complete vocational courses their children will have started school in Edinburgh, providing a strong rationale for settling for the longer term. It is the Group 3 parents, with families of varied ages, who came to work in professional jobs and who are the most integrated, who were found to be most likely to be considering either return or onward migration. As well as being most integrated in Edinburgh, these parents were identified in Chapter 7 as possessing the greatest 'motility', having access to information and social networks transnationally and able to utilise these to further their careers and seek out the best possible place to live. These parents weighed up the options of settlement in the UK, onward migration to another country or return to Poland, taking into account their personal preferences and their assessment of where offered the best career opportunities and lifestyles in the current economic and social climate.

Work and care options in Edinburgh were viewed as an important gain resulting from migration, impacting on parents with children of different ages and with different preferences over work and child-care in distinct ways. Young families with pre-school children found that flexibility and availability of work and training provided a reason to stay, as it enabled them to embark on new careers and to change career direction. For parents who prioritised equal involvement in child-care and paid work, flexible hours and more accessible work and training allowed them to manage work and child-care between them. Older families, with children of school age, found that more flexible employment hours gave mothers the option of looking after their children out of school hours while at the same time engaging in paid work to supplement the family income. Couples in which mothers preferred to stay at home with pre-school age children, as well as those in which mothers were unable to find acceptable work due to lack of English skills, found that it was possible to adopt a

male-breadwinner lifestyle in Edinburgh as a result of the greater availability of secure work and the higher level of incomes relative to living costs.

Opportunities in education for children provided a particular focus for older families; although parents' own career hopes had usually been either delayed or abandoned, parents felt that a major gain from migration was that their children would learn English and achieve qualifications which would be recognised worldwide. Schooling was seen as more person-centred and less pressured and education in general fairer and more accessible than in Poland.

Extended family was found to be an important factor in consideration of return, with those whose whole family - grandparents and siblings - had also migrated to the UK, no longer considering return, while particularly younger families and those with sick or isolated parents in Poland, describe being torn between wanting to be with them and taking up the options available for life in Edinburgh. For those families considering return, reuniting with family members was a key element in their desire to do so.

My final research question asked which families were most likely to stay and which return, and my findings answer this question clearly. As shown in Chapter 8, the families most set on staying are those who migrated with older, usually school-aged children, primarily migrating because of financial hardship in Poland, who work in unskilled employment in Edinburgh and have not yet acquired fluent English. Also likely to stay, particularly if they do not return before the critical stage when their children start school, are those who migrated as single migrants and started families in the UK, who have now acquired English fluency, are embarking on new careers and integrating. Most likely to leave are those who migrated to work in professional employment. Their decision about future migration will depend, as well as on their inclination to return to Poland, on their assessment of career prospects and lifestyle options between countries. This group are then those most swayed by the impact on jobs and standard of living of the economic crisis in the UK and elsewhere.

Strengths and Limitations of the study design

Some particularly successful and particularly problematic elements of the study design are noteworthy. First, the design choice for two rounds of interviews generated improved relationships with respondents, resulting in fuller data, and identification of influential events and changes during the year; this approach was particularly helpful in enabling changes in attitudes to return over time to be explored. Factors influencing these attitude changes could also be compared with factors decisive for the five families who left or planned to leave during the year. This comparison highlighted that while negative experiences at work, or positive societal comparisons, influenced underlying attitudes, they are distinct from immediate triggers to return. Actual return among this group during the period of study was limited to families who had planned to return from the outset and who maintained strong relationships with their parents in Poland, who had continuously considered their options for return or onward migration, or, in one case, from serious problems with the migration project which threatened family unity.

While the two year fieldwork period was not long enough to identify or observe significant developments relating to integration, for example in individuals' language-acquisition or employment progressions, the inclusion of diversity in families' ages and length of time since migration, provided a way of observing the importance of temporal and developmental factors, through comparisons between families. Similarly those families leaving or planning departure, and families who changed their plans during the year, could be compared with those who reported no change - a state which is significant in itself (Lewis, 2007).

With respondents only drawn from the Edinburgh area, generalisations to Scotland or the UK as a whole cannot be definitive and while many of the described experiences seem likely to hold for other Polish families in cities across the UK, experiences of migrants in rural areas in particular are likely to differ. Ideally, respondents would also have been sought and interviewed in Poland, providing more robust data for analysis of rationales for return and the link between intentions and actual return.

The mixed-methods approach adopted in both data collection and analysis, enabled analysis of discrete variable-based data across the group to be combined with in-depth thematic analysis of interview transcripts. This assisted in distinguishing the different kinds of migrant families by identifying key characteristics and enabled exploration of how individual families diverged from common trends. The approach was particularly helpful in accounting for and exploring the high degree of divergence in families' experiences. Division of families into groups using QCA provided a rigid categorisation which, although when presented on its own, fails to represent the subtleties of individual families' experiences, combined with in-depth qualitative analysis assists in providing a coherent and nuanced account of families' experiences. Several families differed from others in their rows in the truth table according to only one factor and exploring these slight, but important, differences generated greater understanding of the various factors at work. The findings that resulted from this process, however, were complex, making a clear and definitive presentation of results difficult.

There was a problem of uneven distribution of families within the three family types identified. The study group consisted of seven Group 1, seventeen Group 2, and only five Group 3 families (with one family not clearly distinguished as Group 1 or 2 by the adopted definitions). The findings in relation to Group 3 parents are, as a result, tentative. Family group types were also identified as relating to the routes through which families were accessed, with parents accessed through Polish clubs and ESOL classes more likely to belong to Group 2, and families met through my personal British contacts more likely to belong to Group 1 or 3. The relative ease of access to larger numbers of respondents through community clubs compared to that through individual contacts was probably partially responsible for the greater number of Group 2 families in the study group. Further it was evident that parents accessed through a Polish Saturday school attended the school *because* they were considering returning to Poland and as a result wanted their children to follow the Polish school curriculum (foreseeing the problems identified with re-entry to the school system). Parents accessed through delicatessens and a Catholic church all belonged either to Group 1 or 2. These connections highlighted the importance of the adopted approach

of using diverse routes of access, but also that the selected access routes influenced the numbers of families with particular characteristics and plans for the future accessed; the group is then unlikely to be representative of Polish families in Edinburgh generally.

The small size of the respondent group also limits the confidence with which findings can be anticipated to apply to migrant families more widely. However, with very limited data relating to Polish migrants in the UK available (Rolfe and Metcalf, 2009; Trevena, 2009) it would not have been possible to identify a research population from which to select a properly random or representative sample for quantitative study, so that a qualitative study was judged to be the only viable method, as well as being that most appropriate to addressing the study's explorative research aims. Utilising QCA alongside more conventional qualitative analysis techniques had the advantage that it allowed overall patterns in the group to be identified and these to be related to wider societal contexts, enabling a fuller overall perspective to be achieved than would be provided by in-depth transcript analysis alone, and suggesting the potential for generalising findings to a wider population.

Social Policy issues

While this thesis has not explicitly focused on issues with implications for social policy, several interviews highlighted areas of life where policy-focused research might usefully be carried out. I first consider implications for the UK and then for Poland.

Employment

Manual workers described discrimination between workers of different nationalities and with differing English language skill. Agency contracts were described as commonly being abused, with workers required to work unpaid overtime and longer hours than they were contracted for; this was particularly evident among recycling workers, with respondents working 12 hour days, five days a week. Respondents did

not feel able to take these issues up with employers in the current insecure employment market and placing a high priority on their families' financial security.

A further issue may arise in the future for Group 2 parents who lack fluency in English and work in manual occupations. Arduous manual work may become problematic for these parents as they get older, and particularly for those who deskilled from sedentary jobs in Poland. Some respondents were employed on temporary contracts and without sickness protection; illness or injury may lead to serious future hardship for these migrants and their families.

Social Housing Allocation

Several Group 2 parents indicated a lack of understanding about the rules in relation to allocation of social housing, and expressed a sense that allocation was unfair in its outcomes for Polish families. Several families had been advised to declare themselves homeless in order to access social housing soon after arrival, and families who had found privately rented flats for their families in advance felt that they were penalised for having done so, having then been refused social housing. Respondents also felt that applicants' ability to demonstrate a firm intention to stay in the UK should be taken into account in social housing allocation.

Education

Respondents with school-age children found that schools reliably provided interpreters for parent-teacher meetings, but parents of older children found the education and qualification systems difficult to understand, as the Polish system has a simpler exam-based qualification structure. For children who had arrived only two or three years before being required to take public exams, parents and children themselves were unable to assess their own language ability and the extent to which this might affect their exam performance. ESOL teaching, while readily available, was felt to be of variable quality and appropriateness.

At the time of writing, the coalition government in the UK is reported as considering the introduction of new restrictions on access to benefits and services for migrants (BBC, 2013), and it is worth noting that, in line with findings of other research (Dustmann *et al.*, 2009), take-up of unemployment benefits was very low among this respondent group. In all respondent families at least one parent was in employment throughout the two years of study, and while two individual parents lost their jobs during this time, both found alternative employment within a year. The knowledge of the existence of the safety net of unemployment benefits was emphasised as important by respondents, but parents often made it clear in interviews that they would consider making use of benefits only as a last resort. Financial support available to families through child benefit and work tax credits had been very helpful to several of the families in setting up home in Edinburgh however, and, as discussed in Chapter 5, access to social housing with secure tenancies and more living space than they could have accessed in Poland was particularly relevant to poorer families.

Implications for Social Policy in Poland

The wave of emigration of young adults from Poland following its accession to the EU obviously raises concerns for Polish social policy as well as in the UK. Two issues suggested in particular from respondents' accounts in this study concern access to employment in Poland for skilled workers who wish to return and care provision for ageing parents of the migrants themselves.

The study finds that highly-educated parents with transferable skills are those best able to consider return, and identifies the importance in this process of access to networks and information to assist them in setting up businesses, either within Poland or transnationally from Poland. Assistance from Polish government authorities in building the required networks and support might then facilitate the return of these migrants. Respondents also emphasised the relative ease of setting up and running a small business in the UK in comparison with Poland, citing high, unpredictable and frequently changing taxation on small business in Poland compared with assistance with business networking (from e.g. the Prince's Trust),

financial support and stable taxation regulations in the UK, and this is another area where Polish policy change could assist successful return.

A second issue concerns social care for parents who remained in Poland when their children emigrated. Polish societal norms of infrequent mobility within Poland and lack of housing availability, combined with maintained culture of mutual support between family members, mean that extended family commonly share households or live in close proximity and children prioritise and are relatively well-placed to care for their elderly parents. Despite the proximity of Poland and the UK and ease of travel between them, involvement with family and working life in the UK is likely to inhibit migrants from fulfilling these care roles across countries. The need for social care provided independently of family is likely then to increase providing a further issue that Polish social policy will need to address.

Setting findings in the context of previous Polish migration research

My research findings differ in some respects from some of those from previous research. Early surveys of post-accession A8 and Polish migrants after 2004 found that a high proportion of migrants had no definite plans about whether they would stay or return home (De Lima *et al.*, 2007; Eade *et al.*, 2006; Iglicka, 2008; Ruhs, 2007). In a survey by Eade *et al.* (2006) only 22% of participants stated an intention of settling for the long-term, and these were characterised as people who had already been in the UK for 'some time', rather than recent arrivals, and as those among the group with 'strong social mobility ambitions' (*ibid.*, p11). The IPPR report 'Floodgates or turnstiles?' (Pollard *et al.*, 2008), concluded that the pattern of Polish migration after 2004 was described better in terms of 'turnstiles' than 'floodgates', with many Poles having already returned home and predicted that more migrants were likely to do so. Similarly to Eade *et al.*, they suggested that those who stay in the UK 'tend to be the better qualified and more aspirational' (*ibid.*, p55) and that their profiles were likely over time to become more and more similar to those of indigenous British people.

My findings in relation to return intentions appear to contradict the above findings, with the most highly-qualified (Group 3) parents identified as those most likely to leave. However, my focus on families, together with the later timing of my study, help to explain this contradiction. Pollard *et al.* also suggest that those most likely to settle in the long term are migrants 'whose ties to the UK extend beyond the purely financial' (*ibid.*, p53) and having a family in the UK involves forming such ties. Other researchers have observed that migrants with children are more likely to stay than single migrants (Schneider and Holman, 2011; Sumption and Sommerville, 2010; The Federation of Poles in Great Britain (Z.P.W.B.), 2009); even apart from the presence of children, the later date of my study both means that migrants arriving shortly after 2004 are likely to have formed more ties with local people and institutions and most of those who held with plans to save and return are likely to have returned before my study began. Further, the later date of the study allows the incorporation of a new group of migrant families who arrived at a later date.

White's findings from a study of working-class families migrating to the South West of England (White, 2011b) also differ in certain respects from those in my study. She finds mothers and children often migrating to join fathers who migrated first; her interviewees however, do not emphasise an intention to stay permanently on arrival, but extend their intended length of stay over time, having arrived with open plans or plans for temporary stay.

Families who are not highly-qualified and arrived with children (Group 2 families) in my study fall into two groups: in the first, fathers had migrated first, often engaging initially in 'circular' migration patterns and mothers and children joined them later, similarly to the families in White's study. In the second, whole families decided to migrate together, often following personal contacts who had migrated earlier. This second type of families who migrated together have not been identified by previous studies of Polish migration; their migration strategy differs from other groups in that they held the intention of long term settlement from the outset. This group then form a kind of 'stayer' distinct from that described by Eade *et al.* (2006). These two kinds

of families, as described in Chapter 4, are not highly aspirational, or if they are, it is not for themselves but for their children.

The other family types identified in my study can similarly be identified within the Eade *et al.* typology, showing how migrants' strategies have evolved over time. 'Hamsters', who migrated to save money, are still evident among the respondents in my study, although there are only two families who currently appear to be maintaining, or reverting to, this original plan. Two families in the group have saved money and are returning to Poland. Their deadline for achieving this was when their oldest child starts school in Poland. Most Group 1 parents migrated originally with this strategy, but later abandoned it, although a few parents still waver. As described in Chapter 5, these families, having migrated to the UK shortly after graduating in Poland, now speak English fluently enough to take up opportunities for re-training and embarking on new careers in Edinburgh; these migrants perhaps are those in my study who fit best the Pollard *et al.* description of aspirational and highly qualified migrants who plan to stay. These are also the migrants in relation to whom Fihel and Kaczmarczyk (2009) raised concerns about 'brain waste'. My study, however highlights the temporary nature of this phenomenon, with these migrants only 'trapped' in deskilled work, as Nowicka (2012) describes, for a few years, after which they are determined and able to forge new careers in the UK.

Group 3 families are perhaps best related to those identified by Eade *et al.* as 'searchers', who demonstrate 'intentional unpredictability'. Highly educated, professionally trained and with fluent English, they migrated for new experience and career-progression; as described in Chapter 7, with the highest levels of 'motility' they can consider and review their options to return to Poland, to settle in Edinburgh or to migrate to a third country; among this group in my study, different families prioritised different options among these plans.

A further proposed migrant strategy, 'salmon', describes migrants who plan to return to Poland permanently after retirement (Garapich, cited in White, 2011c). An inclination towards this strategy was evident among my respondent group across

family types. Assessing the likelihood of these migrants' eventual return, we might do best to look at the current strategies of migrants who came to the UK in the 1960s and who are now reaching retirement age. Better transport options and greater affluence means that some among this group are adopting transnational lifestyles across countries, engaging in seasonal 'lifestyle migration', spending summer in one country and winter in another (Gustafson, 2001; King *et al.*, 2000). This may be a likely outcome for Polish parents who maintain strong links with Poland, particularly as Poland and the UK are geographically close and culturally similar. Some respondents in my study proposed the idea of 'seasonal migration' as an ideal future lifestyle.

Among the respondent group, some of the teenagers who participated expressed a strong sense of Polish identity, were maintaining networks of friends across countries, and hoped to return on finishing their education. If they return, this will provide further continuing transnational ties for their parents, and an extra 'pull' factor for their parents to return to Poland.

For all migrants however, length of time in the host country makes for greater involvement in their location, an increased sense of being 'at home', and over time return may become less strongly desired and less relevant. While the analysis in chapter 8 showed some younger families still frequently considering return and weighing up conflicting influences, we might predict that as they engage in careers and their children start school, ties with home will gradually reduce and the main reason for return identified by researchers, 'missing home', will become less strongly felt.

In Chapter 1, I discussed how Polish post-accession migration has been presented as typical of a 'new' kind of migration to which transnational practices are central. My study, carried out five years after Poland's accession to the EU and with a focus on families, seemed, on the contrary, to show Polish post-accession migration following an evolutionary pattern similar to earlier migration waves. Within the respondent group as a whole however, differences are observed and the context provided by increased ease of travel and communication impacts on the families' lives and choices in differing ways. It will be interesting to see what happens for those families

who stay over the coming decades - whether their patterns of settlement continue to resemble those of members of older migration waves, whether perhaps the greater individualism of these migrants leads to swifter integration into UK society, or whether alternatively, globalisation and developing possibilities for mobility and communication in the modern world result in rising levels of 'motility' for all migrants, enabling new forms of transnationalism to develop.

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Appendix A: Interview Schedules and Questionnaires

Project Information sheet (*English translation*)

University of Edinburgh PhD Research project:
Polish families in Scotland

Lucy Ramasawmy

Polish parents wanted to participate in University of Edinburgh research study!

I am looking for Polish parents – mothers or fathers or both together – who have come to Scotland since 2004 and would be prepared to take part in two informal interviews to discuss their experiences of living in Scotland. The interviews are part of a PhD research study, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, involving Polish families who live in Edinburgh and Glasgow. It will look at families' experiences of work, child-care, education and social life in Scotland, as well as their plans for the future.

I aim to interview people first between August 2009 and May 2010 and again after about 12 months, to talk about what, if anything, has changed. Interviews will be about one hour long and can be either at your home, at the University in George Square or at a café in a location that suits you. They can be during the day or in the evening, on weekdays or at weekends, whichever you prefer. If you don't speak English or don't speak it confidently, let me know, and I will arrange for an interpreter to come along.

Everyone who takes part will receive a small gift as a 'thank you' after each interview, but I hope that participating will also be enjoyable, and will be an opportunity to discuss your experiences so that your views can be heard by the academic and wider community in Scotland.

If you would like to participate in the study, please contact me (Lucy) on 556 4053 (in English only) or L.J.Ramasawmy@sms.ed.ac.uk (in Polish or English)

Dziękuję!

My University student profile is at:
http://www.socialpolicy.ed.ac.uk/student_profiles/ramasawmy_lucy

My PhD supervisors are:
Neil Fraser, Social Policy: Neil.Fraser@ed.ac.uk
Ross Bond, Sociology: R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk

(*Polish version, as presented to respondents*)

Praca doktorska na Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu:
"Polskie rodziny w Szkocji"

Lucy Ramasawmy

Poszukiwani polscy rodzice chętni do wzięcia udziału w projekcie badawczym Uniwersytetu w Edynburgu!

Poszukuję polskich rodziców – matek lub ojców, indywidualnie lub razem – którzy przybyli do Szkocji po wejściu Polski do Unii Europejskiej w 2004 roku, chętnych wziąć udział w dwóch nieformalnych wywiadach-rozmowach na temat ich doświadczeń i opinii o życiu rodzinnym w Szkocji.

Wywiady te stanowią część badań do pracy doktorskiej, finansowanej przez szkocką Radę Ekonomicznych i Społecznych Badań Naukowych (Economic and Social Research Council) i będą mieć miejsce wśród polskich rodzin mieszkających w Edynburgu oraz w Glasgow. Badania będą koncentrowały się na doświadczeniach polskich rodzin ze szkockim rynkiem pracy, opieką nad dziećmi, edukacją, życiem społecznym oraz planami na przyszłość.

Chciałabym spotkać się z rodzinami lub rodzicami dwa razy: pierwszy raz na jesieni tego roku (pomiędzy sierpniem 2009 i majem 2010) i ponownie po upłynięciu około 12 miesięcy, aby dowiedzieć się, czy coś się zmieniło w sytuacji i opiniach danej rodziny. Rozmowy będą trwały około godziny i mogą się odbyć u Państwa w domu, w moim biurze na Universytecie przy George Square w Edynburgu, lub w innym miejscu, np. kawiarni w wygodnym dla Państwa punkcie miasta. Możemy się spotkać dowolnego dnia tygodnia, włącznie z weekendami oraz o dowolnej porze dnia, również wieczorem, tak aby to Państwu odpowiadało. Rozmowy będą się odbywać po angielsku, jednak jeśli nie czują się Państwo pewni lub wcale nie znają języka, proszę dać mi znać, wtedy zaaranżuję polskiego tłumacza na nasze spotkanie.

Wszyscy biorący udział w moich badaniach otrzymają mały upominek jako podziękowanie po każdym wywiadzie. Mam nadzieję, że Państwa udział będzie przyjemnym doświadczeniem a także i okazją do podzielenia się swoimi obserwacjami i opiniami ze społecznością akademicką i szerszą publiką w Szkocji.

Jeśli chcieliby Państwo wziąć udział w moim badaniu, proszę o kontakt pod numerem telefonu 0131 556 4053 (Lucy - tylko po angielsku) lub mailem na adres L.J.Ramasawmy@sms.ed.ac.uk (po polsku lub po angielsku).

Dziękuję!

Dalsze informacje na temat mojej osoby do znalezienia na stronie:
http://www.socialpolicy.ed.ac.uk/student_profiles/ramasawmy_lucy

Opiekę akademicką nad moją pracą doktorską sprawują:
Neil Fraser, Polityka Społeczna: Neil.Fraser@ed.ac.uk i Ross Bond, Socjologia: R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk

Interview Schedule - first interview

Migration

M1. Can you describe how it happened that you and your partner/family migrated here?

M2. Can you tell me about your family's life now?

M3. Can you describe your family's life in Poland just before you left.

M4. What has changed with your family over the time you have been here?

M5. How, if at all, does life here differ from what you expected?

M6. What would you like to be different? Do you think this is likely to happen?

M7. In what ways is life better or worse here than it would have been in Poland?

Work:

W1. Could you describe any paid work that you have had here?

W2. Are you satisfied with your current job(s)? How could it/they be better?

Child-care and Education:

C1. What kind of child-care have you used since you've been here?

C2. Are you happy with your current arrangements? Are the children happy with them? What would make them better?

C3. How do you feel about the education/child-care your children are receiving here? How does it compare with what you would expect them to get in Poland?

C4. How do you feel about your children growing up here?

Extended family:

F1. How do you communicate with your family in Poland? Does this work well?

F2. Do any family or friends have plans to come to join you? Would you like family-members to join you? Has anyone already come to join you?

Integration

S1. Do you feel you are at home here? What would make you feel at home?

S2. Who do you and/or your family see most of socially? Where have you met people who you are friends with? Would you still like to make more social contacts here? Is there anything that makes this difficult?

S3. Are your child(ren) is/are settled here? Have they made friends? With Polish children or with others? How do your children feel about living here?

S4. What organised activities do your children do outside of school?

S5. What do you do with your leisure time?

S6. Do you use of any of the Polish shops or facilities in Edinburgh/Glasgow?

S7. If you watch TV, do you watch Polish or British? Do you listen to Polish Radio? Read Polish newspapers?

S8. Do you use the internet? – What for? Social-networking, information, entertainment – Polish or UK websites?

S9. Where else have you visited in Scotland and the UK?

Scottish Society

X1. Do you feel that local people here have been welcoming or unwelcoming? Can you give examples?

X2. Do you think that people here are less close to their family and community than in Poland? How do you feel about this?

Decision to return

D1. How long do you think you will stay here?

D2. Do you think you will return to Poland? Go on to another country?

D3. What are the things which are most important to your decision about staying or returning? *[Partner and respondent]*

Questionnaire – first interview

English translation (*questionnaires presented in Polish*)

Q1. The factors that made me decide to come here:

Factor	Relevant	Most important
Work available here and/or in Poland		
How much you could earn here to live comfortably		
How much you could save working here to take back		
Children's education		
State benefits and/or greater financial security in living here		
Experiencing a new and different country and culture		
Society/lifestyle in Poland		
The Political situation in Poland		
Other – specify		

Q2. Which of the following do you consider when you think about going back to Poland:

Factor	**Relevant**	**Most important**
The amount you and your partner can earn here and in Poland		
The economic situation in Poland relative to here		
The amount you have saved while you have been here		
The life-style you have here		
Fulfilment at work here for you and your partner		
The quality of children's education here		
Wanting children to grow up/go to school in Poland		
Children having settled in well here		
Child-care availability here		
Social services / benefits available here and in Poland		
To stay with friends and family here		
To rejoin friends and family in Poland		
The disruption / effort of moving again		
Having achieved what you set out to do by coming here		
How you would be received by friends and family if you went back		
Missing home		
Being made to feel welcome or unwelcome here		
Reaching the end of your planned time to stay here		
Other – please specify		

Q3. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

Statement	Strongly Agree ← → Strongly disagree					Not relevant / no answer
I want to go back to live in Poland one day	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would be more likely to find a job that used my skills in Poland than here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would be less likely to find a job with earnings that we could live comfortably on in Poland than here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There is more freedom for individuals here than in Poland	1	2	3	4	5	6
We feel more financially secure here than in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is just as good for very young children (under the age of 3) to be in good quality professional child-care as to be with a family member (e.g. parent or grandparent)	1	2	3	4	5	6
The man should be the main provider for the family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would continue in paid work even if I had enough income to live comfortably without working.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is important for every individual, man or woman, to be financially independent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being in paid work is important for personal fulfilment and self-esteem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Work is only important for earning money.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would like to meet and make friends with more local people here	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would like to meet more Polish people here	1	2	3	4	5	6
We would be happy for our child(ren) to grow up feeling that they are British/Scottish.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel I can speak English well enough to make friends with locals here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Managing practicalities of life here is difficult (e.g. gas and electricity, council tax, driving licenses, schools, GPs or banks)	1	2	3	4	5	6

Q4. Here are 3 kinds of family. Which of them corresponds best with your ideal family?

A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home	
A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children	
A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them	
None of these three cases	

Q5. Who is the main earner in your household?

Me	
My partner	
Both equally	
Someone else	

Q6. Which of the following services have you or members of your family contacted directly or used here?

GP	
Jobcentre	
Scottish Advice centre (CAB, the Advice shop)	
Polish Advice agency	
Council - housing services	
Council - any other services	
Dentist	

Polish version *(presented to all respondents)*

Pytanie 1: Co zdecydowało o twoim przyjeździe tutaj? Wstaw znaczki w tych kolumnach, które uważasz za istotne, oraz wybierz jeden najważniejszy czynnik, pomijając te dla ciebie mało lub nieistotne.

Czynnik	Istotny	Najważniejszy
Praca dostępna tutaj i w Polsce		
Ile mogę zarobić tutaj aby żyć wygodnie		
Ile mogę zaoszczędzić pracując tutaj aby zabrać z powrotem do Polski		
Edukacja dzieci		
Pomoc finansowa państwa oraz/lub większe poczucie bezpieczeństwa finansowego w mieszkaniu tutaj		
Doświadczenie nowego, innego kraju i kultury		
Tryb życia i społeczeństwo w Polsce		
Sytuacja polityczna w Polsce		
Inne – proszę wpisz …		

Pytanie 2: Co byłoby dla ciebie ważne przy podejmowaniu decyzji o możliwym powrocie do Polski? Wstaw znaczki w tych kolumnach, które uważasz za istotne, oraz wybierz jeden najważniejszy czynnik, pomijając te dla ciebie mało lub nieistotne.

Czynnik	Istotny	Najważniejszy
Wysokość zarobków (moich i partnera) tutaj i w Polsce		
Sytuacja ekonomiczna w Polsce (lepsza niż w UK?)		
Wysokość oszczędności zgromadzonych tutaj		
Twój obecny styl życia		
Zadowolenie z pracy i realizacja zawodowa tutaj (moja i partnera)		
Jakość szkockiej edukacji		
Chęć wychowania dzieci w Polsce lub posłania dzieci do polskiej szkoły		
Fakt że dzieci są ustatkowane tutaj		
Dostępność przedszkoli lub innych form opieki nad małymi dziećmi		
Pomoc społeczna, wsparcie finansowe ze strony państwa polskiego i brytyjskiego		
Pozostanie z rodziną i/lub przyjaciółmi tutaj		
Dołączenie do rodziny i/lub przyjaciół w Polsce		
Kłopoty i wysiłki ponownej przeprowadzki		
Osiagnięcie postawionych przed przyjazdem tutaj celów		
W jaki sposób zostalibyśmy przyjęci przez rodzinę i przyjaciół wracając do Polski		
Tęsknota za domem		
Poczucie dobrego/złego przyjęcia przez innych tutaj		
Zbliżająca się data końca zaplanowanego pobytu tutaj (np. Konkretna ilość miesięcy lub lat)		
Inne – proszę wpisz …		

Pytanie 3: Czy zgadzasz się z poniższymi stwierdzeniami? Zakreśl odpowiedni numer na linii od 1 do 5 w zależności od tego czy w pełni się zgadzasz (1) czy zupełnie nie zgadzasz (5). Jeśli dane stwierdzenie ciebie nie dotyczy zakreśl (6):

Stwierdzenie	W pełni się zgadzam ← →				Zupełnie się nie zgadzam	Nie dotyczy mnie lub brak odp.
Pewnego dnia chcę wrócić do Polski na stałe	1	2	3	4	5	6
W Polsce miałabym większe szanse na znalezienie pracy, w której używam swojej wiedzy, umiejetności i przygotowania zawodowego niż tutaj	1	2	3	4	5	6
W Polsce miałabym mniejsze szanse na znalezienie pracy, która pozwalałaby mi i mojej rodzinie na wygodne życie	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tutaj jest większa wolność dla jednostki i indywidualności niż w Polsce	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tutaj czujemy się bardziej bezpiecznie finansowo niż w Polsce	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dla małych dzieci (poniżej 3 lat) bycie w ciągu dnia pod profesjonalną, dobrej jakości, zorganizowaną opieką jest tak samo dobre jak bycie pod opieką kogoś z rodziny (rodzica, dziadków)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Kontynuowałabym płatna pracę nawet gdyby przychód w domu pozwalał mi na wygodne życie bez pracy	1	2	3	4	5	6
Niezależność finansowa jest ważna dla każdego, mężczyzny czy kobiety	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pozostawanie w płatnej pracy jest ważne dla osobistego spełnienia i poczucia własnej wartości	1	2	3	4	5	6
Praca jest ważna tylko ze względu na zarobki	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chciałabym poznać więcej osób żyjących w okolicy i zawrzeć tutaj nowe przyjaźnie ze Szkotami	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chciałabym poznać wiecej Polaków żyjących tutaj	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ja (i mój partner) nie mamy nic przeciwko temu, żeby nasze dzieci dorastały czując się Szkotami/Brytyjczykami	1	2	3	4	5	6
Czuję się na tyle na siłach w języku angielskim że nie sądzę aby stało to na przeszkodzie zawieraniu znajomości i przyjaźni z ludźmi tutaj.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Załatwianie różnych spraw tutaj jest trudne (np. prowadzenie rozmów telefonicznych, wypełnianie form i kwestionariuszy związanych z rachunkami, council tax, prawem jazdy, szkołą, bankiem czy lekarzem)	1	2	3	4	5	6

Pytanie 4

Poniżej przedstawione są trzy modele rodziny. Który z nich najbardziej przypomina twój ideał?

Rodzina w której tylko mąż pracuje a żona zajmuje się domem	
Rodzina w której żona ma mniej wymagającą pracę od męża, zajmując się za to więcej od męża domem i dziećmi	
Rodzina w której oboje mają równie wymagającą pracę i obowiązki opieki nad domem i dziećmi dzielą po równo	
Żaden z trzech powyższych	

Pytanie 5

Kto w twoim domu zarabia najwiecej?

Ja	
Mój partner	
Oboje po równo	
Ktoś inny	

Pytanie 6

Z której w poniższych usług ty lub członek twojej rodziny korzystaliście w Szkocji?

Lekarz pierwszego kontaktu	
Biuro pośrednictwa pracy – Jobcentre	
Brytysjkie biuro doradztwa (Citizens Advice Bureau, The Advice Shop)	
Polskie biuro doradztwa	
Usługi finansowane przez miasto (Council services): biuro kwaterunkowe	
Usługi finansowane przez miasto (Council services): inne usługi, np. Biblioteki, tłumaczenia, sport i rekreacja etc.	
Dentysta	

Family characteristics form

(*Completed by interviewer following interviews*)

Personal details	
Home address + post code	
House type (flat / house, rented / owned)	
Respondent and partner ages	
Date of arrival (date of partner's arrival)	
English language level (self, partner and children)	
Qualifications	
When father left school?	
When mother left school?	
Father's Highest qualification	
Mother's highest qualification	
Training and/or qualifications taken here?	
Contact details:	
Home phone number	
Mobile phone number	
Email address	
Do you use Skype? Be prepared to talk to me via Skype next year?	
Before migrating:	
Job title	
Partner's job title	
Housing type	
Area urban or rural?	
Name of nearest town.	
Did anyone else live with you?	
Did other family members live nearby?	
If you had children, what child-care?	
Employment here	
Job-title here	
Partner's job title here	
Multiple jobs?	
Changes in employment since arriving here?	
Hours worked and times – overlap with your partner?	
Does your current job use your qualifications or skills?	
Family	
Does anyone else live in your household other than partner and children? Who?	
Do you have other family members locally?	
Family living in Poland or elsewhere?	
Children's ages	

Interview Schedule – second interview

Changes

What has changed with your family since last year?

Do you feel things are going as you expected?

Do you feel the recession has affected you?

Work and parents' education:

What are you both doing for work now?

Are you satisfied with your current job(s)? How could it/they be better?

What work would you ideally like to do in the future?

What kind of school did you (both) go to in Poland? Did you go to university? What age did you leave school? *(only questions not answered at previous interview)*

What work did you want to do when you left education? *(if not known)*

Did either or both of you have to 'deskill' (work in a job below your qualification level) in Poland before you left? Would you have to if you returned? *(if not known)*

Do you feel you have more choices in work and/or training here than you would in Poland?

Housing

Are you happy living where you do for the foreseeable future? If you have plans to move soon or eventually, what kind of housing? What area?

Do you feel there are more or fewer choices about where you can live here than you would have in Poland?

Child-care and Education: *(ask questions appropriate to children's age)*

What kind of child-care are you now using? Are you happy with your current arrangements? Are the children happy with them?

Do you feel there are more or fewer choices over child-care for you here than in Poland? If you went back to Poland, what kind of child-care would you expect to use?

Have you considered making use of other kinds of chid-care? (child-minders, nurseries, nannies)?
How do costs compare with those in Poland? What financial help can you get with child-care?

What child-care arrangements would be your ideal?

How do you feel about the last year at school?

If your children finish school here, do you think they would be better or worse placed in the employment market than if they'd been educated in Poland?

How do you now feel about children growing up here?

Extended family:

Have any of your friends or family come or gone from Poland or the UK in the last year?

If a grandparent has come here to help with child-care, how long does (s)he plan to stay? Does (s)he speak English?

Integration

Do you feel you are at home here? What would make you feel at home?

Who do you and/or your family see most of socially? Where have you met people who you are friends with? Would you still like to make more social contacts here? Is there anything that makes this difficult?

Are your child(ren) is/are settled here now? Have they made more friends? With Polish children or with others? How do your children feel about living here now?

Have your children started any activities outside school this year?

Do you now watch Polish or British TV or neither? (internet, radio, papers?)

Have you had a chance to travel around the UK or anywhere else this year?

Do your children have local friends (from the roads nearby where you live)? Do they have non-Polish friends at school?

Have you encountered any racist behaviour during the last year?

Do you think it is easier or more difficult for you to make good friends and contacts here than in Poland?

Future plans and return

How long do you now think you will stay here? Have your plans changed?

Do you think you will return to Poland? Go on to another country?

What are the things which would be most important to your decision about staying or returning now? *[Partner and respondent]*

Do you own a home in Poland? If you went back to Poland would you live with grandparents?

What would you like to be doing in 5 years time? / How would you like your life to be different in 5 years time?

Do all of your family all agree about future plans?

Do you think you will all stay in the same country in the future?

Questionnaire – second interview

(*English translation – questionnaires presented in Polish*)

Indicate your level of agreement with each of the statements below:

Statement	Strongly agree		← →		Strongly disagree	Not relevant / no answer
I would like to move to live in another country, other than Poland or the UK.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I value highly the experience of living in a different country and culture from my own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I expect to still be living in the UK in 5 years time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Education and training opportunities in the UK are better for me than those available in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is easier for me to find working hours to suit my lifestyle here than in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would prefer my child(ren) to be looked after only by members of my family here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I speak English well enough to find the kind of work I want in the UK.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is easier to switch between jobs here than in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel I would have more time to be with my child(ren) if we lived in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am currently working longer hours than I want to.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Facilities for pre-school children are better here than in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would like to run my own business in the UK.	1	2	3	4	5	6
The main reason for coming here was that life was financially difficult in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There are better opportunities here for me to get qualifications useful for my future career.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have less leisure time here than I would have in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I find my job here rewarding (if you are not working, answer 6).	1	2	3	4	5	6
I do not plan to look for the kind of job I want until my children are older.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I want to go back to Poland one day to stay	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would be more likely to find a job that used my skills in Poland than here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would be less likely to find a job with earnings that we could live comfortably on in Poland than here.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel more financially secure here than in Poland.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would be happy for our child(ren) to grow up feeling that they are British/Scottish.	1	2	3	4	5	6

(*Polish version as presented at all interviews)*

Czy zgadzasz się z poniższymi stwierdzeniami? Zakreśl odpowiedni numer na linii od 1 do 5 w zależności od tego czy w pełni się zgadzasz (1) czy zupełnie nie zgadzasz (5). Jeśli dane stwierdzenie ciebie nie dotyczy zakreśl (6):

Stwierdzenie	W pełni się Zgadzam ← → Zupełnie się nie zgadzam					Nie dotyczy mnie lub brak odp.
Chciał(a)bym przenieść się na stałe do innego kraju, zamiast mieszkać w Polsce lub Wielkiej Brytanii.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bardzo wysoko cenię sobie doświadczenie życia w innym kraju i innej niż polska kulturze.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Przewiduję że za 5 lat ciągle będę mieszkać w Wielkiej Brytanii.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Możliwości uczenia się i doskonalenia zawodowego odpowiadają mi tutaj bardziej niż te dostępne w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Łatwiej mi tutaj niż w Polsce znaleźć pracę której tryb i godziny odpowiadają mojemu stylowi życia.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chcę korzystać tutaj z usług profesjonalnej opieki nad dziećmi (np. żłobek, przedszkole, opiekunka)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mówię po angielsku wystarczająco dobrze, by mieć taką pracę, na jakiej mi zależy w Wielkiej Brytanii.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Łatwiej jest zmienić pracę lub przekwalifikować się tutaj niż w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Myślę że miał(a)bym więcej czasu dla swoich dzieci gdybyśmy mieszkali w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Aktualnie pracuję dłużej w ciągu dnia/tygodnia niż bym chiał(a).	1	2	3	4	5	6
Opieka dla dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym jest tutaj lepsza niż w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chciał(a)bym założyć własną firmę w Wielkiej Brytanii.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Głównym powodem dla którego moja rodzina przeniosła się tutaj były trudności finansowe w codziennym życiu w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mam tutaj lepsze możliwości zdobycia kwalifikacji użytecznych w moim przyszłym życiu zawodowym.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mam tutaj mniej czasu na odpoczynek niż miał(a)bym w Polsce.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Jestem bardzo usatysfakcjonowany/a z mojej pracy (Jeśli aktualnie nie pracujesz, zaznacz opcję 6)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nie zamierzam szukać pracy, którą na prawdę chciał(a)bym wykonywać, dopóki moje dzieci nie będą starsze.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pewnego dnia chcę wrócić do Polski na stałe	1	2	3	4	5	6
W Polsce miałabym większe szanse na znalezienie pracy, w której używam swojej wiedzy, umiejetności i przygotowania zawodowego niż tutaj	1	2	3	4	5	6
W Polsce miałabym mniejsze szanse na znalezienie pracy, która pozwalałaby mi i mojej rodzinie na wygodne życie	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tutaj czujemy się bardziej bezpiecznie finansowo niż w Polsce	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ja nie mam nic przeciwko temu, żeby moje dzieci dorastały czując się Szkotami/Brytyjczykami.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Consent form

Presented in Polish at first interview only. Two copies signed, one left with respondents and one retained by interviewer.

Polish families in Scotland: Lucy Ramasawmy 2009-2010

Thank you very much for volunteering to take part in this PhD research study. With your permission, I would like to record and make a transcript of the interview, which I will use as material in my research. In all use I make of the transcript I will replace your name with a pseudonym so that you cannot be identified, unless you say that you would prefer to be named personally.

Please feel free to say if you don't wish to be recorded, or if at any time you would prefer not to answer a question, or you wish to stop the interview. If you have any concerns or questions before, during or after the interview, please feel free to ask.

Interviewee Consent

I agree to Lucy Ramasawmy using the transcript of my interview in written analysis and as material for her research as part of her MSc at the University of Edinburgh.

Name _

Email address _

Phone number(s) _

Signature of Interviewee Date

_ _

Research student assurance of confidentiality

I will ensure that the recording from this interview will kept securely and that interviewee's anonymity will be maintained.

Signature of research student Date

_ _

Email: L.J.Ramasawmy@sms.ed.ac.uk Phone number: 0131 556 4053

Polskie rodziny w Szkocji: Lucy Ramasawmy 2009-2010

Serdecznie dziękuję za zgłoszenie się do wzięcia udziału w badaniach do mojej pracy doktorskiej. Za twoją zgodą, chciałabym nagrać i później spisać przebieg tego wywiadu, co posłuży mi jako materiał w moim projekcie badawczym. We wszelkich późniejszych wykorzystaniach tego skryptu zamienię twoje imię na pseudonim w celu uniemożliwienia twojej identyfikacji, chyba że wyrazisz chęć aby twoje dane pozostały niezmienione.

Proszę powiedz mi jeśli wolisz nie być nagrywanym(ą) lub jeśli w jakimkolwiek momencie wolisz nie udzielać odpowiedzi na konkretne pytanie lub chciał(a)byś zakończyć naszą rozmowę. Jeśli masz jakiekolwiek pytania, wątpliwości lub uwagi przed, w trakcie lub po zakończeniu naszej rozmowy, proszę czuj się w pełnej swobodzie je zadać.

Zgoda respondenta

Zgadzam się aby Lucy Ramasawmy użyła skryptu z nagrania z wywiadu ze mną podczas jej analizy pisemnej oraz jako materiału do jej pracy badawczej składającej się na pracę doktorską na Uniwersytecie w Edynburgu.

Imię i nazwisko _

Adres e-mail _

Numer kontaktowy _

Podpis respondenta: Data:

_ _

Zapewnienie doktoranta o poufności

Zapewniam że nagranie z tego wywiadu będzie bezpiecznie przetrzymywane oraz zapewniam że anonimowość respondenta będzie ciągle zagwarantowana.

Podpis doktoranta: Data:

_ _

Email: L.J.Ramasawmy@sms.ed.ac.uk Phone number: 0131 556 4053

Appendix B: Variable definitions and threshold setting for QCA analysis

Considerations in defining variables and thresholds

In applying this necessarily simplifying approach to analysis of the respondent data from this study, the first requirement is to allocate binary values to each characteristic variable and set a threshold value for each variable distinguishing allocation of '1' from '0'. In QCA both defining the variables and setting threshold values are iterative processes. Initial definitions and values are set from predictions of what will work best, using a combination of theory and contextual knowledge together with familiarity with the data. The aim is to generate a clear and straight forward truth table with as few rows as possible while still providing illuminating analysis.

When a row contains only very few cases, the cases are examined and compared with those in similar rows, to identify how variable definitions and thresholds can be altered to make for a logically simpler table which provides explanations for outcomes that are being observed or rows that make sense as clusters or categories. This might be seen as 'fixing' the data and imposing artificial divisions, but if the divisions lead to groupings to which outcomes are linked in comprehensible ways, then this result itself justifies the legitimacy of the dividing threshold, as the aims are, first, to provide clear logical explanations of patterns in the data and second to enable a thorough examination of how characteristics of different families cluster and how they influence outcomes.

In all cases in the analysis in this study QCA variable values were determined using the first interview, even if the value changed in the subsequent interview. This makes for consistency across cases and for more complete data, including the three respondents who returned to Poland.

English level

As described in Chapter 3, respondents' language ability was roughly categorised during interview according to the levels defined for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teaching in the UK (in relation to speaking and listening) as 'Elementary', 'Intermediate' or 'Advanced'. These are English Language Training levels used traditionally by ESOL teachers in the UK, and roughly equivalent to levels defined by the Council of Europe Common European Framework of Reference for Language CEF as 'Basic', 'Independent User' and 'Proficient User' (Education Scotland, 2013). The three levels give two possible thresholds (Elementary/Intermediate or Intermediate/Advanced). In different contexts during analysis I used the threshold between elementary and intermediate, or intermediate and advanced levels, but in the final analysis presented in this thesis I only make use of the threshold between Advanced English and the other two levels.

As well as generating three, rather than two, categories, allocating a value for English skill at the level of the family is complicated by the fact that parents in couples usually differ in English language skill level. Allocating a value to parents' English language level in the QCA analysis, I have used the English language level of the parent who has stronger English language.

Variable = 1 when the parent with better English has advanced level English, or 0 otherwise.

Family stage at migration

Families are divided according to whether the parents migrated before or after having children. As discussed in chapter 4, arriving before having children may allow parents to acclimatise and integrate more quickly and through different routes than arriving with children.

Families in which the father migrated first and worked in the UK for a year or more before being joined by the mother and children are here grouped with those who arrived as a whole family with children, as they were found to share more other characteristics and outcomes with this group than with the others. It was highlighted as useful in analysis, however, to look separately at these two groups of families in some contexts; for example, in relation to English language acquisition, fathers who had arrived earlier on their own were found to share more similar experiences to those parents who arrived before having children than to fathers in families who arrived together.

Variable = 0 for families in which both parents migrated before having children
Variable = 1 otherwise.

Qualification: Graduate

Allocating a simple value to parental qualifications is highly problematic. Parents often have different levels of education to their partner, and vocational qualifications gained at school vary from those which were never used, to those which lead to low-skilled work or those which are highly specific in nature. Higher qualifications are gained in skilled work as well as professional work, and degrees may be vocational or academic.

During analysis it was observed that younger migrants who came before having children, who had taken the academic route through school and intended to complete a degree, usually came just before, during or after embarking on university studies, often migrating with the aim of saving money to help with university fees or costs. The differences between those who came before or after completing a degree was not extreme, and those who came just before completing their degree had all subsequently enrolled on degree courses in the UK. The qualification category was widened, as a result, to include those currently enrolled in degree courses as well as those who had already completed a degree.

Variable = 1 where one parent has a degree or was planning to study for a degree immediately prior to migrating and 0 otherwise.

Housing

This variable is made up of two elements, housing tenure and housing area.

Housing tenure:

Respondents can be divided into those in social housing, private rentals and owner-occupiers. The threshold could then be taken between rentals and ownership or social housing and private arrangements. In the context of the data the latter is seen as more indicative of migrant families' experiences, but some families in private rentals in less desirable areas, who have applied for social housing but are waiting for an allocation, seemed more appropriately grouped with those in social housing. Combining this variable with 'housing area' fulfils this purpose.

Housing area:

Areas in Edinburgh were classified using the National Classification of Output Areas, a geodemographic classification tool developed by the Office for National Statistics. (Output Area Classification User Group, 2011). Using 2001 Census data, geographical areas are identified using seven 'supergroup' categories, defined as shown in table B.1 :

Most respondent families in my study live within or on the borders of areas classified by the OAC as 'Constrained by Circumstances'; this seems likely to be the case because all types of tenure of housing are cheaper in these areas and so more affordable for migrants arriving from Poland; even those who are buying their own homes in Edinburgh do not have properties to sell at local values and so need to seek out cheaper areas. Some of the respondents owned housing in Poland, but as price-

levels were significantly lower than Edinburgh prices, none of the respondents had been able to purchase property in the wealthier areas of Edinburgh.

Table B.1 Output Area Classification Supergroups

Supergroup	Defining Characteristics
1 Blue Collar Communities	Housing in these areas is more likely to be terraced rather than flats and residents mainly rent from the public sector. There is a high proportion of 5-14 year-olds. Residents tend to have fewer higher educational qualifications than the national average. A high proportion work in manufacturing, retail or construction.
2 City Living	Residents in these urban areas are more likely to live alone. They are more likely to hold higher educational qualifications and are often first generation immigrants to the UK. Housing is often made up of flats and detached homes are rare and residents typically rent their homes from the private sector.
3 Countryside	Residents in these rural areas are likely to work from home and to be employed in agriculture or fishing. They often live in detached houses; in households with more than one car. Areas are less densely populated than other parts of the country.
4 Prospering Suburbs	Residents in these prosperous areas often live in detached houses and less frequently in flats or terraced housing. Fewer residents rent their homes and homes are more likely to have central heating. Households often have access to more than One car.
5 Constrained by Circumstances	Residents in these less well off areas typically live in flats and rent from the public sector. They are less likely to have higher qualifications. They rarely live in detached houses or in households with more than one car.
6 Typical Traits	These are areas of terraced housing, where residents are unlikely to rent from the public sector. There are a range of ethnic backgrounds and types of households. Residents work in a range of industries.
7 Multicultural	Residents in these areas are often non-white, mainly from Asian or Black British backgrounds. Many are first generation immigrants. Housing is mostly rented from the public or private sectors and is often split into flats. The main means of travelling for residents is by public transport.

(Local Futures, 2011)

The housing variable combines these two indicators to reflect both the tenure and the location of housing and is generated as follows:

Variable = 1 where respondent family live in privately rented accommodation in or on the border of an area classified as: 'City Living', 'Prospering Suburbs', 'Typical Traits' or 'Countryside' *or* family are owner-occupiers.

Housing indicator = 0 where respondent family live in privately-rented accommodation within an area classified as: 'Constrained by Circumstances' or 'Blue Collar Communities' or 'Multicultural' *or* family lives in social housing.

Three respondent families did not give their addresses and so have been omitted from analysis using this variable.

Uses Polish skills

As described in Chapter 4, deskilling does not hold the same meaning for all groups of migrants. In this thesis it is defined to encompass any employment move where a migrant's primary skills or experience from employment in Poland are not made use of in employment in Edinburgh. This includes, for example:

- Moving from working in low-skilled work, for example, as a shop-worker in Poland (for which employment migrants may have qualified at a vocational school) to unskilled work in Edinburgh, for example as a cleaner or kitchen-assistant.
- Working at a lower level within the same area in which a migrant was employed at a high level in Poland.
- Switching from a professional or skilled job in Poland to employment in Edinburgh using a secondary skill which was only used informally in Poland (i.e. for oneself, friends and family, or to earn a secondary income), and which is at a lower skill / status level.

- Migrating after graduating and engaging in employment which does not make use of the degree qualification gained.
- Moving from professional or skilled work in Poland to unskilled or lower-skilled work in Edinburgh in the same or a different field.

In the QCA analysis in this thesis, family is the unit of analysis, and the variable was used to analyse the outcomes of parental deskilling on families rather than at the individual level. Parents were asked in questionnaire 1 who was the main earner in the family. While a few couples indicated that they earned equally, in all of these cases both partners had either deskilled or not deskilled, allowing one value of the variable to represent the experiences of both.

Variable = 1 when the main earner or both equally-earning partners in the family is/are utilising their primary skills or qualifications from Poland, or 0 otherwise, i.e. '0' indicates deskilling.

Expects to be here in 5 years

This variable was taken from the response to the question in the questionnaire given out in the second round of interviews, or, where the questionnaire was not completed (six families) from their interview responses (this decision was unproblematic, as there were no ambiguous answers in interviews from these respondents). Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement: 'I expect to still be living in the UK in 5 years time', according to a five point Likert scale (see Appendix A for questionnaire).

Variable = 1 for couples in which one or both parents answered that they strongly agreed, agreed or were unsure in relation to the statement, and 0 for all other couples. For the three families who had already left Edinburgh or in which mothers and children had left the variables is set to 0.

Appendix C: QCA analysis of the influence of housing and deskilling on expectations of staying in Scotland

Housing

Adding the Housing indicator (see Appendix B for how values are determined) to the truth table analysis and omitting the qualification variable for clarity (qualifications might be expected to be less relevant to housing than having arrived with children, and, as described in Chapter 4, language ability, age and qualification variables are interrelated):

Table C.1: Housing and expectations of staying

Row Number	Advanced English	Arrived with children	Housing indicator	Expect to stay 5 years	Frequency
1.	0	1	0	1	11
2.	0	1	0	0	1
3.	0	1	1	1	3
4.	1	0	0	1	1
5.	1	0	1	1	5
6.	1	0	1	0	3
7.	1	1	1	0	3

N = 27, for whom precise addresses were known

Omitting the two rows with only 1 entry gives:

Table C.2: Housing and expectations of staying, simplified

Row Number	Advanced English (E)	Arrived with children (C)	Housing indicator (H)	Expect to stay 5 years (S)	Frequency
1.	0	1	0	1	11
2.	0	1	1	1	3
3.	1	0	1	1	5
4.	1	0	1	0	3
5.	1	1	1	0	3

This generates the equation:

$S = eCh + eCH + EcH = eC + EcH$

That is, those who expect to stay either lack advanced English and arrived with children (Group 3 families) or have advanced English, migrated before having children and are in better housing.

s = EcH + ECH = EH

That is, those who expect to leave have strong English language skills and live in better housing. Since higher quality housing is always associated with advanced English for these more frequented rows, little is added to explanations of expectations for the future by the addition of the housing indicator. Because of this link, more than half of those in 'better' housing locations do not expect to stay. Clearly then poor housing is not among this group related to an expectation of leaving in the next five years.

Looking at the less frequented rows

One family in row two of table 8.3 go against the trend compared to other families with all three characteristics in common, as they did also in the initial return analysis; this family are Kinga and Grzesiek. They differ from other Group 2 families, who lack strong English and migrated with children, in stating on the questionnaire that they do not expect to be here in five years time. However, in Edinburgh they have a new-build house in a recently developed area of social-housing in the regenerated neighbourhood of Craigmillar; they are very pleased with the house and do not include any concerns about problems with housing in the reasons they describe for considering return, so that housing appears not to be an influence on their expectation of leaving, so much as personal attachment to Poland as discussed in relation to table 8.1 above.

The family in Row 4 of table 8.3, Izabela and Jakub, were already identified as unusual in their housing choices in Chapter 4 having chosen to live in a poorer area than might be expected from their characteristics.

Deskilling

Including a variable representing deskilling for the main earner generates the following table (here I include qualification and leave out 'migrated with children', again to keep the analysis simple, and because qualifications might be expected to relate to employment and attitudes to it):

Table C.3: Deskilling and expectations of staying

Row Number	Adv English	Degree	Main earner uses skills	Expect to stay 5 years	Frequency
1.	0	0	0	1	9
2.	0	0	1	0	2
3.	0	0	1	1	1
4.	0	1	0	0	1
5.	0	1	0	1	5
6.	1	1	0	1	5
7.	1	1	0	0	2
8.	1	1	1	0	5

Again I take out rows with only one entry (but leave in the two rows with two entries each in this instance, as these families are representative of the less common expectation that they will not be here in five years, which is of interest in this analysis and less well represented overall):

Table C.4: Deskilling and expectations of staying simplified

Row Number	Adv English (E)	Degree (D)	Main earner uses skills (M)	Expect to stay 5 years	Frequency
1.	0	0	0	1	9
2.	0	0	1	0	2
3.	0	1	0	1	5
4.	1	1	0	1	5
5.	1	1	0	0	2
6.	1	1	1	0	5

From this table it is apparent that among the respondent group, most of those who have deskilled plan to stay more than five years (19 out of 21 families, in rows 1,3,4 and 5).

Those who expect to stay are given by:

S = edm + eDm + EDm
S = m(e + ED)

That is, families who expect to stay are families in which the main earner has deskilled, who either lack advanced English or who have both advanced English and a degree. It is also worth noting that all five of the families who expect to stay and have advanced English and a degree, migrated to the UK before having children (this information is not shown on the table). As described in Chapter 4, while they have deskilled, this is not into manual work, but into what might be described as second careers, with three main earners working in caring professions, one in administration, and one having started a construction business. Having embarked on a new career in the UK appears to be associated, as one might expect, with the expectation of staying longer.

Those who expect not to stay are given by:

s = mED + Med + MED
s = ED + Med

That is, families who expect to have left in five years are either those families in which the main earner has not deskilled, in which neither parent has advanced English or a degree *or* are families who have advanced English with at least one parent a graduate. Among this second group, most of the main earners work in occupations with 'transferable' skills, including nursing, construction, architecture and web-design. Of those families who have advanced English and expect to leave, some came with children and others before having children.

Families in the single-entry rows have already been discussed in Chapter 4, as they differ from the more common groupings in their use of skills in employment, rather than in future plans.

Appendix D: Sources for questionnaire questions

Survey Questions relating to attitudes to work and care

De Henau: Level of agreement with the following statement, European Social Survey (De Henau, 2007)

"A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family"
"Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children"
"When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women"

Hakim: (Hakim, 2003)

'People talk about the changing roles of husband and wife in the family. Here are three kinds of family. Which of them corresponds best with your ideas about the family?

- A family where the two partners each have an equally demanding job and where housework and the care of the children are shared equally between them.
- A family where the wife has a less demanding job than her husband and where she does the larger share of housework and caring for the children.
- A family where only the husband has a job and the wife runs the home.
- None of these three cases.

If without having to work you had what you would regard as a reasonable living income, would you still prefer to have a paid job, or wouldn't you bother?

Braun: Questions from ALLBUS and ISSP surveys (Braun et al., 1994)

A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work.
A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.
It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.
All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.
For a child it is even better if his or her mother works and does not just take care of the home and the family.
A woman and her family will all be happier if she goes out to work.
For a woman it is more important to help her husband with his career than to get ahead herself.
A married woman should renounce working if there is only a limited number of jobs and if her husband is able to provide the living for the family.
A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.
Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.
A husband's job is to earn money, a wife's job is to look after the home and family.
Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent
Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income.

Survey of returned migrants' reasons for leaving the UK, Spring 2008 (n=370)

Reason for leaving (Respondents selected all answers relevant to them)	**%**	**Number**
I missed home	36	135
To be with family members in Poland	29	107
I only came to work seasonally/temporarily	18	67
I always intended to return once I had saved a certain amount of money	16	58
To continue education in Poland	15	54
I always intended to return home after spending a certain amount of time in the UK	14	52
Unable to earn enough money in the UK	7	27
My spouse/partner/other family members were returning to Poland	7	24
The cost of living in the UK is too high	5	18
I wanted my children to grown up in Poland	4	15
Unable to find work in the UK that I am qualified to do	4	15
Unable to find a job in the UK	4	13
Housing conditions in the UK are unfavourable	3	12
Polish economy is stronger now than it was	3	11
I didn't feel welcome in the UK	3	10
Working conditions in the UK are unfavourable	3	10
To buy/build property in Poland	3	10

(Pollard *et al.*, 2008 p44)